

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REIGNS
OF

EDWARD *and* RICHARD II.

WITH
Reflections, and Characters
OF THEIR
Chief Ministers and Favourites.

AS ALSO,
A COMPARISON between those Princes
Edward and Richard the Second, with Ed-
ward the First, and Edward the Third.

Written in the Year 1685.
By the Honourable
S^r ROBERT HOWARD

Hor. Lib. III. Ode IV.

*Hic dies vere mihi festus atras
Eximet curas : Ego nec tumultum,
Nec Mori per vim metuum, tenente
Cesare terras.*

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TO THE
KING'S
MOST
EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

SIR,

Such as have Dedicated
their Writings to Princes,
have usually presented
them in Characters that rather
shew'd what Excellent Princes
might be, than what they were;
and so resembling one another,
that most of them seem'd flattering
Copies, and very few like
the Originals.

I esteem it therefore a very
great Happiness to be freed from
Flattery, by being only Just to

A 2

You,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

You, since of no less a Nature
are Your Actions, than to make
it almost impossible for any to
Approach You with that Servile
Prejudice to Themselves and
Princes.

This, *S I R*, will be justified
by repeating only that You Re-
stor'd a Nation from falling to
be no more a People ; almost
ready to become Slaves by the
Loss of their Religion, Laws, and
Liberties. Nor did You only Re-
deem, but made Your Redempti-
on perfect, and by an unparallel'd
Goodness parted with a *large*
Branch, of the standing *Revenue*,
only to Ease Your People from
the Weight and Oppression of it.
And having Reliev'd them from
all their Wrongs, You confirm'd
by a Law their *Declared Rights*,
shewing such an Affection for
Your

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Your People, as was contrary to the Methods of our late Princes; who design'd that Power for Destruction, which You us'd for Preservation.

This Dedication, *SIR*, is also proper for You, since the subject Matter of it was the Cause that excited You to Attempt our Relief, thro' so many Threatning Dangers.

The Stories shew how those unhappy Princes, *Edward* and *Richard II.* misguided by Ambitious Ministers, believ'd there was an Interest separated from their Peoples, and that Interest secur'd only by such a natur'd Power, as Slaves, not Subjects, were capable to submit to. Those *Fatal Methods* and *Arbitrary Designs* were exactly Copied by our Two last unhappy Princes :

The Epistle Dedicatory.

And You that Redeemed Us from all those threatenng Calamities are justly presented with this Memorial, and with the Prayers of all good Men, that our Deliverer may be ever preserv'd in Health, long Life and Prosperity in this World, and the perpetual Life and Felicity of *the World to come.* Amongst others be pleased, *S I R,* to accept the particular Devotion of,

S I R,

Your Majesty's

Most Faithful,

and Obedient Subject,

Ro. HOWARD.

i.

THE PREFACE.

I Was much surpriz'd to see an imperfect Copy of this steal into Publick, far from my Knowledge or Intention : for I was sensible it wanted Consideration in point of History. There were many material Things which I intended to have added, and others to leave out as unnecessary to my design: considering therefore that my best and most correct Performances cou'd hardly challenge merit, I thought it just to myself, and others, to endeavour that they might need the least Pardon ; and that my owning now the Publishing of this, may rather be lookt upon as an effect of Necessity than Confidence.

The Scheme of this was digested in the Year 85, I being very much affected with the Consideration, how the Errors

of ill Administration produc'd the same Fatal Effects upon those unhappy Princes, Edward and Richard the Second, the weight of whose ill Conducts was heavy enough to sink the prosperous and lofty Condition their Two Glorious Predecessors, Edward the First, and Edward the Third, had left the Kingdom in.

Nor was their resembling Ruine more observable, than the Causes of it. Their Predecessors apply'd all their Glories and Successes, to give, as it were, Lustre and Power to the Laws; these Two Unfortunate Princes attempted only by mean Practices to subdue them, and their own People: Those great Princes Edward the First, and Edward the Third, might fix their Favours and Kindness on the People, since they parted with no Power to Ministers and Favourites; 'tis that which ever did, and ever will breed a distrust in the People, enough to shake all Confidence in their Prince. And tis but natural it shou'd have so fatal an Operation, since the true Interest of a King differs totally from theirs; his best and securest Happiness

The P R E F A C E.

iii

pineß is founded on the Peoples Good ; their Interest and Ambition must be supply'd by their Oppression. This is the seldom failing Cause that has made all Princes unkind to their People, that invest Ministers with their Power and Affections ; and I am confident there are but few Stories that have given an Account of a Prince so resign'd to others, but have likewise told of his Misfortune involv'd in theirs. That Power and Interest which a King ought to have is not useful to them ; and rather than suffer him to tread in Publick Paths, they perswade him to follow the misguiding Meteor of Arbitrary Power.

I also consider'd the Proceedings of the Government in the latter part of King Charles the Second's Reign, and the short Reign of King James the Second, and perceiv'd how exactly they follow'd the steps of these two unfortunate Kings, and I then expected to see a Revolution resembling theirs.

When

The PREFACE.

When K. Charles had prepar'd things ready for Popery and Slavery, he seem'd no longer useful to those that eagerly waited to assume that Power that the Papists had guided him to make ready for them; and as his Actions were like those misguided Princes, I believe, his Death as much resembled theirs, and was equally as violent.

There was not a particular Action of any Note of these two late Kings, that did not seem Copy'd from those two unfortunate Princes; the Interest of England prostrated to that of France; the Murthering of Great and Considerable Men; the violent Seizing the Rights and Liberties of the City of London; the Quo Warranto's on Corporations, consequently on the Nation; Laws prostrated to the King's Will, Westminster-Hall fitted with proper Judges for that Design: And as in K. Richard the Second's time, by Resolving the Queries of the Earl of Suffolk, the Judges made the King the sole Judge, not only of Law, but whether there shou'd be any Law or no, and the Offence against his Will became the only Treason; so the apt Judges

The PREFACE.

v

Judges of the King's-Bench in the Case of Sir Edward Hales, resolv'd the same though in another manner; but in a more seeming abstruse way, as if they endeavoured to shew Modesty in Nonsense. First they declar'd the Laws were the King's Laws, and in Case of Necessity the King was to judge of those Laws; and then that the King was Judge of the Necessity. And lastly, (as my Lord Coke says) to bring the worst Oppression upon us, which is done by the Colour of Justice, they did not only attempt to corrupt the Law by poyson'd Judges, but by packing Parliaments endeavour'd to confirm the begun Slavery by Statute-Law.

There was only one sort of Mischief, and the greatest, that those two unfortunate Princes had no occasion to be equal in with our two late Kings, especially K. James; for they being then of the same Religion with the People, cou'd not endeavour the subverting of it, so that K. James had a peculiar Tyranny to exceed them in. This threatening Storm upon the Souls of Men, was providently fore-seen by the Parliaments
of

The PREFACE.

of Westminster and Oxford, who therefore prest the Point by a Bill of Exclusion to secure themselves against a Popish Successor. I was a Member of both those Parliaments, wherein the Debates seem'd to me very clear, and almost unanimous, and they were too well justified by the Popish Successor, when he came to the Crown; for he made good the Foundation of their Opinions and Apprehensions; that such a one cou'd never Defend a Faith that was contrary to his, or be a Father to those he believ'd no Sons of God; as if it were possible that his Concern shou'd be for their Liberties, that his Opinion had delivered up to Eternal Slavery.

The truth of this appearing by his Actions, has (by this time, I hope,) bred a repenting Consideration in such as strenuously supported that which was so near bringing a Ruine on us all; and had not this King brought us such a timely Redemption, we had practis'd Passive-Obedience against our Wills, and in our Souls and Bodies felt the Misery of that Doctrine, the Encouragement of Destruction.

But

The PREFACE.

vii

But yet we see a History of this Doctrine of Passive-Obedience, new put forth, which is no better then an Arraigning this present Government, and all those that contributed to this happy Change, which shews as if there were some, that wou'd rather see the violent Destruction of their own Religion, than disturb the quiet Settlement of Popery; as if it were more Religious to suffer God not to be worshipt, than to pull down an Idol set up by a King, as if we were to believe he had a Divine Right to Consecrate Idolatry; but I leave that zealous History under the Execution it has received from the Excellent Mr. Johnson, in his short Reflections upon it, which can receive no greater a Character, than to be like himself, and his other Writings, both which were Victorious in the midst of all his barbarous Persecutions; and as the Nation receiv'd the benefit of his Writings and Example, I doubt not but he will share a Reward proportionably to the assistance he gave to their Redemption.

*It will not be improper therefore to consider the Cases of those two Princes,
Edward*

Edward and Richard the Second, who were Depos'd by the People in their Representatives, presuming they had a Right to reassume that Power which was derived from them, when any Prince forfeited the Trust they had plac'd in him, and acted contrary to his Executive Office ; and they expressly declared to King Edward the Second, that if he did not freely consent to a Resignation, they wou'd not Elect his Son Edward, but such a one as might be proper for the good of the People, though no Relation to his Blood ; and the King return'd his Thanks, That since they had taken such a Displeasure against him, that they wou'd yet be so kind to his Son ; nor has this Electing of Kings been so unusual in England, since seldome any Government has had more broken Successions.

But before I proceed to shew how this Right was, and continues in the People ; I will take leave briefly, to shew what a Prince is according to their Doctrines that have with an unlimited Zeal asserted Passive-Obedience, and the Laws to be only the Properties of a King's Arbitrary Will.

The P R E F A C E.

ix

I remember when Julian the Apostate came out, many of the Clergy seem'd very much disturb'd; and as I was inform'd, there was a Club that assisted the Answer to it, call'd Jovian; I mention this, that when from thence I set down the Positions of that Doctrine of Passive-Obedience, they may be lookt upon as the sharpest Arrows they cou'd draw from all their Quivers; and then if any weakness or Contradictions appear in them, methinks the War shou'd be at an end, when the Joint Forces under a chosen Hector are defeated, and the Rout and Disorder comes from their own Opinions, that fall foul upon one another.

In many Places of Jovian an unlimited Passive-Obedience is prescrib'd, as a general Remedy in all Publick Diseases; that is, Destruction is the best Recipe against Destruction, and the Disease is to become the Cure. But the Author having heard of such a thing as Laws, and not knowing how to put them out of the way, to make room for this Doctrine, which makes a Destroyer lawful, he finds out a Diamond to cut a Diamond;

The PREFACE.

Diamond , and a Law never heard of to destroy the known Laws, in these sublime words :

The Political Laws are made to defend the Rights of the Subject, but in case the Sovereign will Tyrannically take away a Subject's Life, against the Political Laws, he is bound by the Common Laws of Sovereignty not to resist him, or defend his Life against him by force.

It is to be observ'd, that here are two sorts of Law, God's Law, and the Devil's Law ; that which supports and defends Right is GOD's Law, that which takes away Life unjustly is the Devil's Law , for he was a Murtherer from the beginning.

But Contradictions are so frequent in that Discourse , that I do not wonder to see the zealous Author shew one in his own particular ; and incogitantly perhaps, profess a violent Resolution to break his own sacred Rule of Passive-Obedience : For, I suppose, if a Woman
Scolds,

Scolds, and gives hard Names, she is not Passive, for then Billingsgate is Passiveness incorporated; and I shall desire the Reader to judge, whether there be much difference, in theirs, and our Author's active Tongue-Assault; for he loudly cries out, with a very sharp Excursion: That he shou'd rather think it his Duty, than the breach of it, to tell, not only a Popish Prince, but a Popish King to his Face, did he openly profess the Popish Religion, That he was an Idolater, a Bread-Worshipper, a Goddess - Worshipper, an Image-Worshipper, a Wafer-Worshipper, with an &c. as if he had more Names in store for him.

But I must do the Author right, to let the Reader know, that Jovian was written when K. James the Second was Duke of York, and had not declar'd himself a Papist; and perhaps he thought he wou'd never have done such a rash thing: but yet, for fear of the worst, the Author retreats to his Doctrine of Passive-Obedience, from this dangerous Sally that he had made with an unadvised boldness; and then tells us, 'tis

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The PREFACE.

reasonable to depend on the Conscience of a Popish King, and seemingly returns to a modest Repentance, that he had exprest such a displeasure against one that worshipt more Gods than one; for after this terrible muster of hard Names, he falls back as he was, and pays such a profound Devotion to Passive-Obedience, that now he seems to extend it even to thoughts, as not to think ill of his own rail'd at Idolater; this, I suppose, may be call'd forward and backward, or to blow hot and cold in the same breath, to make the Contradictions appear plain enough.

This Opinion yet he sticks most to, if you will trust him as much as he advises you to trust the Idolater, and tries to give you a Reason for it; for he says, That Suffering, as in the Case of the Thebean Legion, can never happen in Great Britain; we of these Kingdoms having such Security against Tyranny as no People ever had: I suppose he forgets his own Position, and means a Truth that he before destroy'd, the Security he means, if he can mean any, after he has taken away all, must be the
Political

The PREFACE. xiii

Political Power, that is, the Laws : Can any Man have the Charity to believe, that he cou'd think he propos'd any Security from Laws, that had set up an Imperial Power, or Sovereign Law, as he calls it, (which is the Will of a King) to take them all away, if he pleases ? He might as well tell us of a Security by certain Deeds, to all which were fixt Revocations, and yet wou'd have us depend on such Arbitrary Settlements, without Right or Power to oppose those Revocations ; thus the continu'd Contradictions appear that mingle with such Notions. A Man that stutters much in his Speech, is hardly to be understood, but such an excessive Stammering in Writing, makes it much harder to gueß what a Man means.

But in another place he gives us an additional Reason for trusting, and to deter us from examining a Tyrant's Actions, or opposing the Imperial, that is, Arbitrary Power ; which is, That a King is accountable to none but God.

To make good this Opinion he quotes some of the Church of England Divines,

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The P R E F A C E.

and of the Reform'd, Bochart a Frenchman, whose Authority he often repeats : As to these of the Church of England, Mr. Johnson has fully answered that, and quoted Statutes enough, and Judgments of Convocations in Q. Elizabeth's time, that assert and support a contrary Doctrine to this unlimited Passive-Obedience ; for they approv'd the Resistance of those in Scotland and France, who actively, and by force, attempted to defend their Religion and Liberties. I shall only add the Precedent of King Charles the First, reputed the Church of England's Martyr, He was of the same Judgment with the Church and State in Q. Elizabeth's time, witness that business of Rochel, who took Arms upon the same account, and receiv'd Assistance from him, which approv'd an active Opposition against the Oppression brought on their Religion and Liberties.

But I find not only our Author, but he that writ the History of Passive-Obedience, is a great admirer of Bochart, calling him the Glory of the Reformed ; and having quoted many of the

the Church of England Divines ; he then, as well as Bochart's Letters to Dr. Morley , quotes some other of the Reformed Divines ; but though I do not think this Cause depends, as Mr. Johnson says, upon telling Noses ; yet I will set down in the Margent , that I may not interrupt my Discourse, the several Opinions of eminent Reform'd Divines , which the Author of the History of Passive-Obedience, being so industrious to search Opinions, must probably omit, as not being useful for his business: and indeed, there are very few Arguments that may not be supported with Opinions ; for Flattery, Design, or present Interest, has caus'd more Opinions than the true and just Reason of the subject Matter cou'd ever allow.

But if we should build a Confidence on this Foundation, and

Zuinglius. Tom. I. Art. 42.

When Kings Reign perfidiously, and against the Rules of Christ, they may according to the Word of God be depos'd.

I know not how it comes to pass, that Kings Reign by Succession, unless it be with consent of the People.

When by consent of the whole People, or the better part of them, a Tyrant is Depos'd, or put to Death, God is the chief Leader in that Action.

When the Roman Empire, or any other shall begin to oppress Religion, and we negligently suffer it, we are as much guilty of Religion so violated, as the Oppressors themselves.

Calvin on Daniel, ch. 6. v. 7.

In these Days Monarchs pretend always in their Titles, to be Kings by the Grace of God, which they pretend, that they might Reign without Contract; for to what purpose is the Grace of God mentioned in the Title of Kings, but that they may acknowledge no Superiour: So it is therefore a meer Chear, when they boast to Reign by the Grace of God.

Abdicant se terreni Principes, &c. Earthly Princes depose themselves, while they rise against God.

Bucer on Matth.

If a Sovereign Prince endeavours by Arms to defend Transgressors, to subvert those Things which are taught in the Word of God, and bears himself not as a Prince, but as an Enemy, and seeks to Violate Priviledges and Rights, granted to Inferiour Magistrates, or Commonalties, &c. they ought to defend the People of God, and maintain those Things which are good and just: For to have Supreme Power, lessens not the Evil committed by that Power, but makes it the less tolerable, by how much the more generally hurtful.

Peter Martyr on Judges, c. 3.

Approves the Proceedings of the Parliament against Richard the Second.

the Prince be such a one, as either does not believe, or consider there is such an Account to be made up, we shou'd be miserably deceiv'd. And it has not been frequently known, that a Prince has liv'd as if he ever apprehended any Account in the other World, to be given of his Actions in this; all these Doctrines are but insinuating Flatteries to make Princes forget Men; for the Service of God can hardly be perform'd by the Neglect of Men.

But if the Author wou'd have us believe that a King is accountable to none but God, he ought to explain himself to us in the

the particular of K. James the Second, a profest Papist, and tell us to which of all his Gods, he is to be accountable for our Good; whether to a piece of Bread, a Wafer, an Image, a Goddesß, or to all. I cou'd not have been so ingenious, as to make his own Position so ridiculous, as he himself has contriv'd to do it, but in its self it appears a very strange Doctrine; to trust to the account a Popish King is to make with his God, for those he believes his God will damn. 'Twon'd seem as rational for a Man to take an Estate to hold by the Life of a Man, that he believ'd was to be certainly executed.

Payens on the Romans:

They whose part it is to set up Magistrates, may restrain them from outrageous Deeds, or pull them down; but all Magistrates are set up either by Parliament, or by Electors, or other Magistrates; they therefore that exalted them, may lawfully degrade and punish them.

Finner Theo.

They who have Power, that is, a Parliament, may either by fair means, or force, depose a Tyrant.

Guilby de Obr.

Kings have their Authority of the People, who may upon occasion reassume it.

Goodman on the same Subject.

If Princes do right, and keep promise with you, then do you them all humble Obedience; if not, you are discharg'd, and your Study ought to be in this Case, how you may depose and punish according to the Law, such Rebels against God, and Oppressors of their Country.

Tho. Goodman, and Finner, were two that fled from the bloody Persecution in Q. Mary's days, and this Goodman had Preach'd many times upon the Doctrine concerning Obedience to Magistrates, which he was desir'd to publish in a Treatise; as is testify'd by Whittingham in the Preface.

There is another as rational a Proposition to incline us to believe and depend on this Doctrine of Passive-Obedience, That Subjects to have a right to judge when they may resist, or withstand their Sovereign, is a thousand times more inconvenient and pernicious to Humane Society, than patiently submitting to the abuse of Sovereign Power.

And in another place confirms this with a Notion of a very high strain, telling us, that a Popish Successor, or give him what Character you please; nay, let him be a complicated Tyrant, a Pharaoh, Achab, Hieroboam, Nebuchadnezzar, all in one; nay, let the Spirit of Galerius, Maximin, and Maxentius come upon him; yet, he is sure, it will cost fewer Lives and Desolation to let him alone, than to resist him.

This Author is very apt to be fierce and lofty in his expressions; as if Noise wou'd be more prevalent than Reason. Before, he muster'd up False Gods that a King worship't; and now musters up
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as many Tyrants to mold into one King : And yet such an Idolater and complicated Tyrant , is not capable to do as much mischief , as opposing him will cause. He could have invented but one strain higher for the Cause of Passive-Obedience, by adding the Devil to the Idolater and complicated Tyrant, and then our Passive-Obedience had been to submit, to what in Baptism we promis'd to fight against, the World, the Flesh, and the Devil : And the Position holds as true in relation to him , as such a Prince, that it were the cause of more mischief to oppose the Devil, than to submit to him.

Dr. Sherlock expresses this more modestly : That Non-Resistance is the best way to secure the Peace and Tranquility, and the best way for every Man's private Defence ; for Self-defence may involve many others in Blood, and, besides, exposes a Man's self. And in another place tells us, 'Tis the best way to prevent the change of a Limited , into an Absolute Monarchy.

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This is not to prove the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience, but the benefit of it; and in some measure it may possibly be true, that weak and particular Defences or Oppositions, may rather bring Destruction upon some, than save all; but a Nation cannot fall under that Danger, that unitedly defends its own Religion and Laws. On the other-side, the Passive Submission to such a complicated Tyranny, must more probably hazard the Subversion of Religion and Laws, and consequently Freedom and Property: And indeed 'tis a strange Assertion, that all these Qualities joyn'd in one Man, cannot do as much mischief, as a Nation's opposing the Ruin that he wou'd bring upon them: which resolves into this absurdity, that if they have a Right to relieve themselves, yet 'tis unwise to attempt it, for fear of causing that which wou'd certainly be done without it.

But these Positions have been sufficiently confuted by several Tyrants, who have destroy'd as much as they cou'd have done, had they been enrag'd by any

my unsuccessful opposition: And at this very instant the King of France may convince anyone, that there was hardly more Cruelty to be committed, than has been acted by him: He had corrupted most of Christendom to this prudent passiveness, by which he was capable to bring more Ruin on his own and other Kingdoms, than he would ever attempt to have done, had he been oppos'd; and the Passive-Obedience that was shew'd at first to his growing Tyranny, did not prevent, but cause the change of a Limited into an Absolute Monarchy; so that on the contrary, the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience seems calculated for the Meridian of Tyranny.

I hope this Argument will be yet more confuted by the benefit Christendom will receive by the opposing that Tyrant; whose Persecution of Christians, and Burning Countries, does not yet seem to the Assertors of Passive-Obedience, to be Mischief enough, to allow that an unresisted Tyrant cannot do as much, as will probably happen by opposing him. Certainly if the Destruction the King of France has made, do not
convince

convince them, 'tis only that Mischief is not Mischief, if done by a King.

But Dr. Hicks says, That the Laws of all Governments allow every Man to defend his Life against an Assassine: (by which he shews his Imperial Law is no Law of Government). And Dr. Sherlock tells us, No Man can want Authority to defend his Life against him that has no Authority to take it away.

By this confession of the two Learned Doctors, the Point seems to be clear'd; for an illegal Assassine, and one that has no lawful Authority to kill, is, I suppose, all one; and whatever is acted or done in such a nature against Law, is Murder; so that all that is done against Law, may be rightfully oppos'd: For surely they cannot mean (though they speak in the singular number) that it is lawful to oppose one Man that acts against Law, and not many; that is to say a lawless prosecution, if by many is not a lawless Prosecution: and if Dr. Hicks's Distinction be brought in aid, That the Imperial Power may make a law.

The PREFACE.

xxiii

lawless Attempt, or Prosecution lawful, then his illegal *Assassine* may be a lawful Executioner: so that 'tis reduc'd to this demonstration; that their Position is either Nonsense, or a direct Confutation of their own Doctrine.

I will onely add one Confutation more, that Dr. Sherlock gives to this Doctrine; which is in his own words: That every Man has the right of Self-preservation as entire under a Civil Government, as he had in the state of Nature.

This is a great Truth; but if it be so, their Doctrine must be false; for in the state of Nature, no Man owes a submission to another; for being under no Covenants or Obligations, he remains free from Subjection, and is his own Judge, and cannot properly be judg'd by another. Now how these are to be reconcil'd, seems very difficult, I think, I may say impossible; that a Man under Government shou'd pay Passive-Obedience to every thing, and a Man in the state of Nature not oblig'd to pay Obedience to any thing, and yet to have

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as equal a Right to Self-preservation in one Condition as another : For we are told expressly, That in case the Sovereign will Tyrannically take away the Subject's life, he is bound by the common Laws of Sovereignty not to resist, or defend his Life against him by force. Now in the state of Nature there is no Subject nor Sovereign, and therefore by the contrary a Man may defend his Life against Violence ; And what can be meant then, by having as much Right of Self-preservation under a Civil Government, where we are told we must not preserve our selves by force, as in a condition where we are free and naturally oblig'd to do it ? But in this, as in other intoxicated Conditions, where Men have imbib'd something too strong for them, in the midst of their disorderly expressions, Truth will sometimes break out, contrary to their Interest, and (perhaps) intemperate Desires.

But though I do not believe that the Reason of any thing is to be submitted, because such or such, are of this or that Opinion ; yet since I have set down the Doctrine asserted in our days, when the
hazard

The P R E F A C E.

xxv

hazard of Religion itself, did not seem to prevail above flattery and design; I will briefly shew also the Opinions of our Ancient and most Authentick Authors, which have been often quoted; and therefore I will be very short in it.

I will begin with an Original Agreement in Magna Charta, Printed by the present Bishop of Salisbury; which declares, That if the King shou'd Violate any part of the Charter, and refuse to rectifie what was done amiss, it shou'd be lawful for the Barons, and People of England to distress him by all the ways they can think of; as Seizing his Castles, Possessions, &c.

According to which seems grounded the Opinion,

That a King is not a King, where his Will Governs, and not the Law. Brafton.

For if a King's Power were only Royal, then he might change the Laws, and charge the Subject with Tallage, and other Burdens, without their Consent. Fortescue.

But

Bracton. But the King has a Superiour God, also the Law, by which he is made King.

K. Edm.'s Laws. For a King is constituted that he shou'd Govern the People of God ; and defend them from Injuries, which unless he performs, he looses the very Name of a King.

Fortescue. From that Power which flows from the People, it is not lawful for him to Lord it over them by any other Power ; that is, a Political, not a Regal Power.

Bracton. Let Kings therefore temper their Power by the Law, which is the Bridle of Power.

Grotius de Jur. Bell. ac Pac. So that the right understanding of this Law of Resisting or not Resisting in Cases of Necessity, seems to depend on the Intention of those that first enter'd into Civil Society, from whom the Right of Government is devolv'd on the Persons Governing.

Certainly

The P R E F A C E. xxvii

Certainly no Civil Society ever made a Contract with intention to be oppress'd or destroy'd ; and he there observes, That Men did not at first unite themselves in Civil Society by any Special Command from God, but for their own Safety to withstand Force and Violence ; and from this the Civil Power took its rise.

I will now proceed to a more proper way of Argument than Quotations ; and briefly consider the Reason of Government, and the necessary Consequences, in respect of the Conditions of the Governing, and the Governed ; and as a Builder that designs to build strongly, I will use a Foundation laid by that excellent Architect Mr. Hooker, in his Ecclesiastical Polity.

I will faithfully transcribe his words, and though not joyn'd together in his Discourse, yet the Reason is so strong that guides an Argument of this nature, that it has naturally its own Cement and Connexion ; which will appear in these following words :

‘ Presuming Man to be in regard of
‘ his deprav’d Mind, little better than
‘ a wild Beast, they do accordingly pro-
‘ vide notwithstanding, so to frame his
‘ outward Actions, that they be no hin-
‘ derance to the Common Good, for which
‘ Societies are instituted ; unless they
‘ do this, they are not perfect ; it rest-
‘ eth therefore, that we consider, how
‘ Nature findeth out such Laws of Go-
‘ vernment, as serve to direct even Na-
‘ ture deprav’d, to a right end.

‘ To take away all such natural Grie-
‘ vance, Injuries, and Wrongs, there
‘ was no way but growing into a Compo-
‘ sition and Agreement among themselves,
‘ by Ordaining some kind of Government
‘ Publick, and by yielding themselves
‘ subject thereunto, that unto whom they
‘ granted Authority to Rule and Govern,
‘ by them the Peace, Tranquility, and
‘ happy Estate of the rest may be pre-
‘ serv’d.

‘ Men always knew, that when Force
‘ and Injury was offer’d, they might be
‘ Defenders of themselves ; they knew
‘ that however Men may seek their own
‘ Com-

The PREFACE. xxix

‘ *Commodity, yet if this were done with
 ‘ injury to others, it was not to be suf-
 ‘ fer’d; but by all good Men, and by
 ‘ all good means to be withstood.*

‘ *Impossible it is that any should have
 ‘ compleat Lawful Power, but by con-
 ‘ sent of Men, or immediate appoint-
 ‘ ment of God; because not having the
 ‘ natural Superiority of Fathers, their
 ‘ Power must needs be either usurp’d,
 ‘ and then unlawful; or if lawful, then
 ‘ Consented unto by them, over
 ‘ whom they exercise the same; they
 ‘ saw that to live by one Man’s Will,
 ‘ became the cause of all Mens Miseries;
 ‘ this constrain’d them to come into
 ‘ Laws.*

‘ *The Lawful Power of making Laws
 ‘ to Command whole Politick Societies
 ‘ of Men, belongeth so properly unto the
 ‘ same entire Societies, that for any
 ‘ Prince or Potentate of what kind soe-
 ‘ ver upon Earth, to exercise the same
 ‘ himself, and not either by express Com-
 ‘ mission immediately and personally re-
 ‘ ceiv’d from God, or else by Authority
 ‘ deriv’d at the first from their Consent,*

The P R E F A C E.

' upon whose Persons they impose Laws,
' is no better than meer Tyranny.

' Laws they are not, therefore, which
' Politick Approbation hath not made
' so; but Approbation, not only they give,
' who personally declare their Assent, by
' Voice, Sign, or Act, but also when o-
' thers do it in their Names, by Right
' originally deriv'd from them, as in
' Parliament, &c.

*Thus strengthen'd by this great Man,
to whom the Church of England has
justly paid a particular Veneration, I
shall with the more confidence proceed
to do the Nation Justice, and begin
with those granted and undeniable Prin-
ciples; That the Authority, Power, and
Right of Self-Defence and Preservation,
was naturally and originally in every
individual Person, and consequently
united in them all, for Ease, Preserva-
tion, and Order; but every one could
not be a Governour and governed, and
without Agreement where to fix a use-
ful Power, to execute such convenient
Agreements or Laws, as shou'd be con-
sented to for their own good and benefit,
they*

they cou'd not be safe against one another ; for if Interest and Appetite were the free Guides, without the check of any Law or Punishment, Mankind must be in a state of War ; and destroying one another the certain Consequence of that Condition ; for Faith and Justice in all, cou'd not be depended upon to be sufficiently binding, unless Men had no deprav'd Natures, but had been endow'd with such Original Vertue and Justice, that they were as sure and careful of their mutual Preservations, as Laws, or the fear of Punishment cou'd oblige them.

For this Reason were Laws invent'd, and consented to ; and 'twere a fatal Absurdity, if the Cause was for Preservation by the Power of such Laws, that those Laws shou'd have no Power to limit or confine the Authority of Him or Them that were chosen to Govern by the Conditions contain'd in them ; for otherways the Mischief was but chang'd, and they that out of a reasonable apprehension had bound themselves from oppressing one another, shou'd

give unlimited Power to others to do it, if they pleas'd ; so that unless this ridiculous supposition could be granted, it must be acknowledg'd of consequence, that though the Magistrate was set above the People, yet the Law was set above the Magistrate : For where any thing is to be observ'd and obey'd, there a perfect Superiority is acknowledg'd.

Whoever therefore is set up to Govern by these Rules and Covenants, must of consequence have only an Executive Power committed to him by the People. It has ever been acknowledg'd by all Common-wealths, that their Power is deriv'd from the People ; And why should it not be acknowledg'd, that a King has the same derivative Power. They that would argue against this, shou'd be well furnisht with plain Texts of Scripture, to prove, that the Government by Kings was more favour'd of God, than any other Government ; and that a King was in a special manner, (not found among Men, but) dropt down from Heaven to Govern a People intentionally created for him, and be ther-

THE PREFACE. . xxxiii

therefore accountable to none but
G O D.

But this, I suppose, will be very hard for the most willing Flatterers to find out ; but the contrary appears frequently in Scripture, David first made a Covenant with the Elders of Israel. And when Jehoash was made King, Jehoiada the Priest made a Covenant between him and the People, but some of our Passive Zealots wou'd have such Covenants to be void in themselves ; and yet acknowledge it an Offence not to observe them ; but the Offence must be answerable to God, not to Man : which is only Doctrine for Encouragement of Sin, to invite good Princes to grow bad, and make a Religious Duty the Security of Tyrants.

Power seldom permits Religious Thoughts to prevail, or the unpleasant Remembrance of what's to come after this Life : And if a King either forgets, or does not believe a Future Judgment, and perswaded by such flattering Doctrines to be so like a
(b 4) G O D,

GOD, as to be Unquestionable here, he must look upon his Subjects as his Slaves, and their Goods his Chattels, and their Inheritances his Estate ; so that Laws are unnecessary for Preservation or Punishment, since his unquestion'd Will may save or destroy ; for if Laws and Compacts were of force, 'twere equally just and legal, that if for Offences against them, the Subject shou'd forfeit for himself, that the King for the Violation of the same Laws shou'd forfeit as well.

If it shou'd be urg'd, that an Oath is taken as the onely Security ; that is, begging the Question, it may be as a farther Security ; but the Original and never-to-be-separated Rights of those from whence Power was deriv'd, must be the surest : for there is no danger but from the bad, and they are more apprehensive of Punishment in this World, than the remote Terrours of the other ; And if an Oath were sufficient Security, why are not all Magistrates sufficiently oblig'd, and we secur'd by such Obligations ; and ought

ought not as well to be liable to any Account or Punishment in this World? But this they will allow to be ridiculous, for Magistrates may be wicked and corrupt; and their Oaths no Security against the Oppression or Destruction of many; but this Just Reason must not extend to Kings, though Tyrants: For they, it seems, have a Divine Right to be wicked, and oppress, or destroy a Nation by Arbitrary Power.

As to the Point of Divine Right, certainly it must be fixt, and arise from something. Naturally every Man has alike a Divine Right to his Life, Freedom, and Estate; but these, by the Pact he has made, may be forfeited by offending against those Laws he had Covenanted to obey; and by reason of that Pact, a King has a Divine Right, which is affixt to all Contracts. Now if there were no Contract, nor Office in a King, in what can he have a Divine Right? If it be annex'd to Name or Power abstractedly without those Considerations,

tions, then Force or Violence gaining Power and Name, is attended presently by Divine Right, and the Destruction of our Religion and Laws, Murder and Rapine may be consecrated by Divine Right, inseperable from Power, whether just or unjust ; and if Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance be sacredly to be paid to all this, that Divine Right we have to our Lives and Properties, may be taken away by this Divine Right.

*But God has pronounc'd Temporal Judgments frequently in Scripture against Tyrants and wicked Kings, for oppressing and destroying the People. Ahab by colour of Law (the worst sort of Tyranny) found out two false Witnesses to Swear Blasphemy against Naboth, that he might forfeit his desired Inheritance ; for which Ahab forfeited also his Succession ; and the Reason is plainly express'd by the Prophet Elijah to him : Thou hast kill'd and taken possession. And how does it appear that God has alter'd such Determinations, and now by a Right
from*

The PREFACE. xxxvii

from him, made all Wrong unquestionable in this World. Samuel slew a King, and gave Tyranny for the Reason: Because he had made Women childless, and did not respite his punishment, till he had made his account with God. He seem'd of the Opinion that Seneca the Tragædian makes Hercules declare:

-----Vidima haud ulla am-
pior
Potest, magisque Opima ma-
ctari Jovi
Quam Rex iniquus---

In the History of Passive-Obedience there is a very Learned Man quoted, that calls the Contract between King and People, an Implicit Contract; but he might have been pleas'd to call this Doctrine of Passive-Obedience more properly, an Implicit Doctrine, since 'tis grounded more upon their own Imagination, than Reason or Scripture; and the Texts need be very plain, to
shew

xxxviii The P R E F A C E.

shew that Divine Right in the Person of any Man : From whence they derive the Passive Duty , Religiously to suffer the Destruction of Religion, and justly to obey Violence and Injustice , to encourage Tyranny , and zealously promote Slavery.

In that Author I find also a Question , which they presume very weighty : How the People having once parted with their Power , came to resume it ?

In my Opinion , any one that were Govern'd by Reason not so disturb'd as theirs, wou'd wonder at such a Question ; as if it were the same thing for a Man to grant Estates absolutely, as under Conditions and Revocations : And so for the People to make a Contract expressly, That such a Man shou'd Govern them by his Unquestionable and Arbitrary Will , without any Obligation ; or that he shou'd govern them by Contract exprest in Laws. And the Question then more naturally arises on the other-side : If People have never

The PREFACE. xxxix

ver parted with any Power but Conditionally, how came they to lose it Absolutely ?

*There are few that will not allow Resistance to be lawful against a Foreign Prince that invades us to make us Slaves, or against an Usurping Tyrant, that gets forcibly into Power; and yet another that is in the right possession of Power, may turn a Tyrant, and we must passively submit to the Mischiefs he is pleas'd to bring on Mens Lives and Properties; as if a lawful Accession to a Crown, can better justify the Violation of Right, than an Usurping Power: For by that reason there is a Title of doing wrong, deriv'd from the Right to a Power that was to protect from wrong. If a Man shou'd Seal Bonds in a House, where he had a rightful possession, is he therefore less liable to pay or perform Covenants, because he had a Right to the present possession of the place where he was, when he agreed and seal'd the Security? And
by*

• THE PREFACE.

by the same reason it appears, that the King of France has as much Right to Govern us, as a King of England to Govern us; for every Prince has equal Right to Slaves; for Power is all the pretended Right to Slavery; and if the Contract between King and People be implicit, there is certainly but an implicit difference between Slaves and Subjects.

By this Religious Duty of Passive-Obedience, equally paid to just and unjust, to legal and illegal Power, the Sacrifices offer'd to God are the Persuasion to Tyranny, the Security of Mischief, the Encouragement of Sin, the Destruction of good Men, and the Preservation of the bad; Lastly, The justifying of wrong by Divine Right, and a pretended Account to be made up only with God, to defraud his People of their just Rights here.

But I hope this late Happy Revolution has satisfied every undesigning Heart beyond all Arguments, and shew'd

The P R E F A C E.

xli

*shew'd the Falseness of their Reasons,
as well as prevented the Mischiefs of
their Doctrine ; since contrary to their
Assertions , we have seen Opposition
with much less expence of Blood, than
Submission wou'd have suffer'd to be
spilt ; and Arbitrary Tyranny chang'd
into a Limited Monarchy.*

REFLE-

I

REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
REIGNS
OF

Edward and Richard II.

SINCE living in an Age, in which the Minds of Men are so passionately divided, that they are apt of all sides, not only to condemn whatever is not suitable to the Noise they make, but wrest out forc'd Constructions, far perhaps from the meaning of him that either writ or said the Words : And, where 'tis possible, to turn Censure into Accusation. I thought it not improper, therefore, to prevent the Business of State-Criticks, by giving a short Account, by way of Introduction, why I chose

B History

Reflections upon the Reigns

History as the most useful Study ; and something of our own most proper for our selves ; where the prospect of Things, past under the same Laws and Government that we now enjoy , must also probably be the most useful part of History to us. For if the Revolution and Event of Things are the best Instructions, the Impressions may probably be most effectual, where the Actions of former Ages are made Presidents to our present Times.

I have also often consider'd , since riper Years have admitted a full Consideration, what hazard any Man undergoes, that exposes publickly the Endeavours of an improv'd Knowledge ; tho' with a Design to present to others those Advantages that he believes he has acquir'd to himself by the most industrious and impartial Searches. And indeed, 'tis not onely the Intention of Doing well, that will procure an Excuse for Errors committed, but join'd to a fair Performance, will hardly find a just Acceptance ; and every Man, by reason of Self-Inclination , is as much unfit to
be

of Edward and Richard II.

3

be a Judge of his own Productions, as generally Men, by their averſeneſs to the Reputation of others, are unproper to bring in their Verdicts.

The ſame Inclination and Reaſon, that guide what any Man writes, will probably make him approve what he has written ; ſo that indeed a Man has paſſ'd his Judgment at firſt , and can hardly have a ſeparate Opinion left at laſt : For when he has endeavour'd to apply his beſt Correction, he muſt be diſentangled from his own Nature, to have another Judgment. Fathers that beget Children may fancy that to be Wit and Diſverſion in them, which perhaps diſintereſſed Perſons wou'd judge troubleſome Imper- tinencies.

On the other-ſide, thoſe that are not biaſſ'd by any particular Concerns, and ſhou'd be moſt capable to judge, are yet as much bent with the Apprehenſion of the Reputation of others, as they are by the fondneſs of gaining it : As if any were robb'd of what was due to their own Mérits, by

B 2

others

others receiving the Reward of theirs. One Candle may illuminate a Thousand, without the loss of light ; and in Esteem no Man loses by what another shares. But Jealousie, that disturbs the Peace of Life, raises the Disquiet in Mens minds ; and Disturbance is the product of Ill Nature : So that Men are prepar'd rather to Censure, than Judge. Besides, in giving Judgment for the Party, there seems a tacit Submission to his ; but Censure seems a preference to their own : So that, by searching out Faults in others, they give Evidence (as they think) of their own Correctness. Whereas, if those that endeavour to be Censorious were to attempt the same Thing, they might perhaps shew as many Failings ; and the others, who shou'd enter upon their envious Province, might perhaps successfully exceed them in searching for Defects.

This is the cause why the best Performances have not that Kindness or Justice bestow'd upon them while the Author lives, which after his Death they

they receive. Many excellent Painters, who during Life did not gain any extraordinary Wealth or Fame, after Death their Works increas'd alike into an Extreme of Price and Reputation : For they cou'd then be no Rivals ; and those, that were jealous they might darken their Reputations while living, now believ'd it might be a safe Testimony of their own skill, to admire the Art of those that were Dead.

'Twere too long and needless to name the Writings of many, that were little regarded at the Time they were written ; nay some censured, some absolutely condemn'd : which in future Times grew into Credit ; and, by laborious Commentaries, great Excellencies and heights of Imagination have been endeavour'd to be discovered, which perhaps were never design'd, or thought of, by the Authors. But when they were not capable to receive any Benefit of a Reputation, 'twas then search'd out for them, to make their Writings useful to the Fame and Interest of others. For

6 *Reflections upon the Reigns*

when, by distance of time, there seems
 a Traditional Authority descending
 with the Writings; many have curi-
 ously labour'd how to bring this to
 the Use of their Arguments and De-
 signs: And, to gain the more Reve-
 rence, fix'd the Name of Antiquity to
 that which was perform'd rather in
 the Infancy of Learning.

From this general, and no very
 pleasant, Consideration, I enter'd into
 the particular Parts of Learning. And
 in the first place seriously weigh'd
 those Searches that I had made in Di-
 vinity; and I perceiv'd nothing so ea-
 sie, nor so useful, as the Gospel Part
 of it, which shou'd have been the
 whole: For I thought all Things ne-
 cessary were so fully and clearly
 laid down there, that it did not need
 Disputes; nor cou'd reasonably cause
 Men to differ, but onely requir'd a
 General Consent of perswading for the
 other part of it, which is drawn out
 in Disputes. I found little Incourage-
 ment to hope any Advantage or Im-
 provement by labouring in such an in-
 terested Labyrinth. For when, with

as much Power of impartial Reason as I was furnish'd with, I had steadily weigh'd the Particulars that were so warmly disputed among Christians, I cou'd not convince my self (tho I had a charitable inclination to the contrary) but that all the Particulars, from whence such passionate Differences had sprung, were caus'd more by the Zeal for this World than the other.

For in the first Place, there was never any Point, now in Controversie, that had a Name pretended when Tradition began. If they had a Birth it was unknown; they lay asleep in their Cradles, till the Future Noise of the Church rouz'd them; but had no Growth at all, and after many Years Infants, giving a Testimony at least of an unlawful Birth, being then disown'd by many of the Fathers they were laid to: So that the Disputes seem'd of what Men invented, not what they found: And, in Civil Matters, 'twou'd be thought a ridiculous Contention about a Title of an invented Thing, that never was heard of in Five or Six Hun-

dred Years, and then not to be found.

Whoever will take the Pains to sum up the Differences disputed among Christians, may easily find the Dates and Commencements of every one, long after the Time from whence they wou'd derive the Causes of them. And since the Particulars disputed are (for the most part) affirmed to be of such Consequence, it seems strange that none of them shou'd have such a plain Name, as not capable to be call'd otherways; and, after a Deluge of so many Hundred Years, when admir'd Tradition, nor the least Ecclesiastical Gazett, had given any Notice of such a Thing, to see strange Births and new Names contended for.

But that it may be justly thought too prolix and improper for my intended Subject, I cou'd set down most of the Particulars, their Times of Birth, and the confident Fathers that first own'd them; who, while they were thus passionate for their own
unquiet

unquiet Off-springs, did, for ought they knew, endeavour to Illegitimate the Truth. For large Disputes and Divisions of Mens Minds shew there is a doubt, which is the right determination; but one side finds a Protection for themselves against all Error and Mistakes: For those, who call themselves an Infallible Church, must consequently make their determination so; and not only secure what is past, but what is to be, by declaring, from the same assum'd Power, a Right of making new Articles of Faith. So that none need examine, why they believe at present, nor be solicitous, for what they are to believe hereafter.

To add to this, I confess I cou'd not upon my best Examination find, that any of the Particulars, controverted among Christians, purely and abstractedly consider'd in themselves, and the validity of their own Natures, cou'd have any effectual Vertue or Use, by the Opinions of them, in point of Salvation; no more than if they had never receiv'd their injurious
Beings

Beings by the Designs of Disputing Parties. For some of them are so unnecessary, that the most earnest Contender for them cannot want Modesty so much as to desire, that since we must endeavour to live as well as we ought, that the certain Knowledge of those things must need be useless to that end: For nothing, that is not in its self material, can be useful to the means. And if Faith, Charity, and Justice, must be the effectual means, I cannot see how it is necessary to consider of believing, or not believing, any thing that is not, in its self, purely necessary to be believ'd for its own intrinsic Vertue.

These being my thoughts of the Polemic Part of Divinity, I cou'd not perceive any use, for my self or others, to be extracted out of those interested Quarrels; and therefore resolved not to wander farther in a Wilderness, where all disputed the way, and most pretended to be unerring Guides. But, were the Apostles now living, they wou'd see a greater Improvement, by these Disputes, than
wou'd

wou'd have been purchas'd by their plainer Methods and Doctrines : Of which they wou'd be sufficiently evinc'd by the (then unthought of) Titles and large Possessions of their Successors. But Things of extraordinary Natures are apt to get Respect, visible Impossibilities are made the most worthy Objects of Faith ; and the Church the less Visible the more Veneration to be given to it : And submitting Imagination must make that greatest, that is not to be made less by being possible to find out where it is.

The next Thing I consider'd was Philosophy, wherein I found also Disputes warmly maintain'd ; Men being apt to ingage for the Pride of Victory, or Lust of Interest. And it appears plainly, that not the desire of Truth onely has ingag'd many in the search of Philosophy ; since the uncertain Fate of it shews, That the Opinions receiv'd Credit, as the Interests and Humors of Men were guided by Design, or Opposition. For in Things that admit no demonstration, there is
more

Reflections upon the Reigns

more room for Disputes than common Benefit.

The beginning of Philosophy is reckon'd from *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, who made first the Publick Profession of it. But the Account is given but faintly by *Laertius* ; and what we read of them, and others, down to the Time of *Socrates* , are but dark Accounts, either to raise use, or dispute from. Under him *Plato* began his Studies, and *Aristotle* in his Time appear'd in *Athens*. The Differences between the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans* were Famous , and by their Disputes made way for the Doctrine of *Plato* to flourish ; which *Cicero*, in his time, follow'd close, finding it perhaps useful to Eloquence , which he so much labour'd in.

The Doctrine of *Aristotle* lay silent, while *Plato's* spread in *Italy* and *Greece* ; which were then the onely Countries of Learning. 'Tis said that the Writings of *Aristotle* lay hid about 160 Years, and almost spoil'd by the moisture of the Cave where they

they were buried: after sold for a great Price to a wealthy Citizen of *Athens*, who had a fancy for making a great Collection of Books hard to be gotten. Afterwards when *Sylla* took the City, he took these Writings with a design to bring them to *Rome*; but he dying they fell into the hands of one *Tyrannion*. After him *Andronicus* got them into his Possession, who seem'd the first Restorer of them, and made them known in *Rome* about the time of *Cicero's* growing Reputation.

But *Plato* was yet famous in all Places, and the *Romans*, who found Advantage and Preferments depended more upon Eloquence than Natural Philosophy, apply'd themselves most to the Moral Part of it, and from thence form'd Religion.

This establish'd the Reputation of *Plato's* Doctrine in *Rome*, till the same Cause gave Reputation to *Aristotle's*. In *Domitian's* time the Disputes of the Philosophers began to be so troublesome to the Government,
that

Reflections upon the Reigns

that they were banish'd *Rome*. *Marcus Aurelius* brought it again in high Reputation, and in his time the Doctrine of *Plato* was in such Esteem that it grew a Fashion among the Ladies, and so continu'd to the time of *Severus*.

In this first Age the Church seem'd to have a Birth. The beginning of the Christian Religion was thought to have the most obstruction from Philosophers ; whose Disputes among themselves, and the Division of their Sects, gave *Lucian* one of the best Occasions to turn it into Ridicule.

Some of the Sages among the Christians, finding the *Pagans* so averse to any that disown'd Philosophy, they clos'd with them in becoming *Platonists*, whose Philosophy was then so highly prefer'd ; and then this Philosophy was by them judg'd most agreeable to Christian Religion ; and contributed to turn *Justin*, who was afterwards martyr'd ; who avowed that the Philosophy of *Plato* dispos'd him to Christianity. Many Bishops were

were also Admirers of that Philosophy; *Origen* and *St. Augustin*, were great Assertors of *Plato's* Doctrine, and the Usefulness of it for Christianity: And the two first Ages absolute Opposers of that of *Aristotle*.

Tertullian was one of the first that appear'd against the Doctrine of *Plato*; calling him the first Author of all Heresies: And both he and *Arnobius*, follow'd by *St. Chrysostome*, who most sharply of any handled that Doctrine. And then the stream quite turn'd; and as in the first and second Age it was believ'd Christianity was asserted by it, so now in the third and fourth Ages 'twas found out that Heresie sprung from it.

The *Latin* Fathers were not so clear-sighted to find out that the Subtleties of *Aristotle* were useful to the Christian Religion; but the *Greeks*, that flourish'd in the Eleventh Age, found it otherwise by better Studying it: And the Commentaries of *Avicenn* and *Averrhoes*, on the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, assisted the Reputation, and help'd it to spread. In

In the Thirteenth Age, as the *French* write, the Works of *Aristotle* were brought into *France*, and for some time taught in the University; but after a little time his Writings were burnt, and Excommunication threatned against any that taught out of them. His Metaphysics were condemn'd by an Assembly of Bishops at *Paris*; and Six Years after the Cardinal of *St. Estienne*, sent by Pope *Innocent*, forbid the Professors of the University of *Paris* to teach his Physics: Which afterwards was also condemn'd by a Bull of *Gregory* the Ninth's; and one *Simon* a Professor, and *Dinant* a Master of Arts, were often accus'd of Heresie, for being Esteemers of *Aristotle's* Opinions and Writings. *Mezeray* says, That in the Year 1209, one *Almeric* a Priest, beginning to Preach some Novelties, had been forc'd to recant; for which he dy'd of Grief. Several after his Death follow'd his Opinion, and were condemn'd to be burnt; and he being Excommunicated by the Council of *Paris*, his Body was taken up, and his

his Ashes thrown upon a Dunghil. And because they believ'd the Books of *Aristotle*, lately brought from *Constantinople*, had fill'd their Heads with these Heretical Subtleties, the same Council forbids the Reading or Keeping them under the Pain of Excommunication.

But during this Disgrace there arose in his Defence three famous Divines, to whom *Damascen* had open'd the way, having abridg'd many of his Works; which had assisted him to put in Order his great Work of Divinity: And afterwards others improv'd this, and took, as it were, a Plan of Divinity from *Aristotle's* Philosophy.

In the Year 1366, two Cardinals, Commissioners from *Urban* the Fifth, came to establish the Doctrine of *Aristotle* in *France*; where it was order'd that none shou'd proceed Master of Arts, that were not examin'd upon Logick, Physicks, Metaphysicks, and his Books of the Soul. And afterwards were enjoin'd to study *Aristotle*

carefully to restore the Reputation of the University.

Pope *Nicholas* the Fifth, a great Advancer of Learning, commanded a new Translation of *Aristotle* into Latin, for the Use of the Divines of the *Romish* Church.

Pope *John*, that Canoniz'd St. *Thomas Aquinas*, and his Doctrine, increas'd the Reputation of *Aristotle*, from whom that great Doctor had drawn his Principles; that now his Writings became the Fundamental Laws of Philosophy.

In the Fourteenth Age grew the hot Contention between the *Thomists* and the *Scotists*, the Disciples of St. *Thomas* and *Scotus*, about Subtil Nothings, or (as *Mezeray* calls them) brangling-cobweb-Controversies; which yet was pursu'd with Passion, according to Interest or Inclination, or by Ingagement of Parties. And so multiply'd were Disputes, that a *Venetian* Writer pretended to reckon up Twelve Thousand Volumes, publish'd in that

that Age, about the Philosophy of *Aristotle*.

This pursuit of Differences and Niceties, never to be made decidable, grew to raise a new Philosophy, that the other became scarcely intelligible; Interest, and the excessive Love of Dispute, caus'd so many vain Subtilties, that Philosophy began to lose its former Credit and Reputation. And, if it were not from my purpose, the naming onely of those useles and unintelligible Subtleties, wou'd convince any, that by the sharp Disputes it appear'd, it was not for Truth, or the Hopes evidently to discover it, that engag'd the Quarrelling Parties.

Yet after this the Reputation of *Aristotle* so far increas'd, and was so establish'd in the University of *Paris*, that *Ramus* (who had found out some new Subtilties in Logick, and publish'd some Observations upon *Aristotle* to diminish his Credit) was by the other Professors in the University condemn'd, in the Year 1543, for rash, ignorant, and impudent, to dare

Reflections upon the Reigns

to write any thing against *Aristotle*; and an Order made that none shou'd teach any other Philosophy. Such a Religious Veneration they had for *Aristotle*, that dissenting from it grew a Heresie, and, in the Massacre at *Paris*, *Ramus* was murther'd with as much Fury as the *Calvinists* themselves.

The Credit of *Aristotle* was also not a little increas'd in the Church of *Rome*, from the Opposition of *Bucer*, *Calvin*, *Melanthon*, and others; and it was then more and more found out that it was a Support to the dark Opinions of that Church. This was the Cause that it was so supported by the Doctors of *Paris* in the Year 1611, by making a new Rule, that all Professors shou'd teach the Philosophy of *Aristotle*. And in the Year 1624, a Request was deny'd, for some particular Theses to be propos'd against the Doctrine of *Aristotle*; and the same Parliament, in the Year 1629, made an Arrest against some Chymists, upon the Information of the *Sorbonists*, That the Principles of *Aristotle* could not be

be written against or lessen'd without prejudicing the School-Divinity receiv'd. And this perhaps rais'd and confirm'd his Reputation in all Universities; which were first encouraged by the Popes, as proper Soils to sow the Seeds for Disputes to grow up, to defend and support all new and dark Opinions. Thus his Name grew almost Sacred in Universities; and *Queen's Colledge in Oxford*, yet shews a kind of Testimony of Veneration, by Reading *Aristotle* upon their Knees; and those that take Degrees are Sworn to defend his Philosophy.

Whoever will impartially consider the dark Subtleties, contain'd in *Aristotle's* Philosophy, will find reason enough for the Use of it in as dark, but more dull Writings of School-Divinity; whose End seems onely to confound all Things with obscure and dark Distinctions. For when an Implicit Obedience is to be perswaded, the most sublime and unintelligible Means are most proper to be us'd.

And 'tis no Wonder if the Fathers and Sages of the Three First Ages were not quick enough to understand a sort of dulness, of which they had then no use ; the Thing being not then found out that they were to be apply'd to. But when the Occasion was ready for it, the puzzling Parts of *Aristotle's* Philosophy were found useful ; and among all his dark Subtleties none more convenient than that of separate Essences, which were Beings where no Being was ; and the onely proper Notion to find out a Place for Purgatory : And seem'd also very useful to support the hard Point of Transubstantiation ; where there appears a Substance that must not be believ'd to be there , and another to be believ'd there, that is not at all to be perceiv'd. Yet tho' the Church ingag'd in the Quarrel, the Credit of the *New Philosophy* has increas'd chiefly by the Writings of *Mirandula*, *L. Vives*, *Galilaus*, *Gassendus*, and *Des Cartes* ; and by many Excellent Philosophers of our own Nation.

I have not given this Account with the least design or endeavour to lessen the Esteem of Knowledge in this particular of Philosophy ; for certainly the Natural Reason of Things is worthy of such a Search as may inform. But to labour in the endless and useles Searches of Subtleties and nice Distinctions, can be for no other Use but Disputes, caus'd by the Vanity of suppos'd Victory, or the Application to Interest. At least I cou'd not find a clear Advantage to myself, or could have hop'd to have offer'd any to others, by endeavouring to obtain the Perfection of an imperfect Study ; wherein nothing appear'd to me promising any Thing of Publick Use, or private Demonstration.

For the Mathematicks, setting aside that vain Part of it Astrology, I onely knew enough of it, to deplore I had not made my entire Study there ; where a Demonstration made it more proper for the true Use of Men, than for their Designs. For in Things that admit the least Dispute Men must be

least divided : And yet evident Truth begets the least Interest, and the fewest Admirers. But where Things, not onely above Reason but contrary to Sense, are impos'd upon Men's Belief, that Implicit Faith, and consequently Obedience, must be the sure Foundation of Interest ; and those, who have parted with their Wits, may probably part with their Fortunes. For certainly had not such extraordinary Designs prosper'd on easie Men, the Ecclesiasticks had not crept into such great Titles, and large Possessions, that the Apostles could hardly find any Image of themselves in their Successors, and as little in some of their Opinions ; who never were taught, or did teach, to deny Sense, and to make visible Truth, or sensible Demonstration, a Sin.

The Mathematicks have therefore caus'd less Disputes, and engag'd fewer in the Study of it, where Truth can onely be the Search and the Reward ; and the Disputes must be confounded by Demonstration. But the other Studies are most suitable to the
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bent Nature of Mankind ; where Things not to be clearly decided nourish Contention and Design : For easie People, being ready for extraordinary Notions, excuse the folly of not Examining, by the Prudence of Believing it safer to submit implicitly to others, than to use their own Sense. And at last by such entire Submissions, Impossibilities become as easie to them as Truths, and Falseness as Demonstration ; like those that use themselves perpetually to hot Waters, Spirit of Wine itself at last is swallow'd, without being perceiv'd to have any violent strength.

The next Study to this that seem'd nearest Truth, and of most Use, was History, in which the best Measures of Men are to be found ; and the Comparison of Calms and Storms in Empires, the Quiet and Revolutions under several Princes and Governors, will best teach by what Methods Kingdoms have been preserv'd and shaken : Which is not onely useful for those that Govern, but those that Obey, teaching the first how to preserve,

serve, and the last how to afford the Means.

Nor did any thing appear more agreeable to me than the Use that *Machiavel* makes of History, in his Decads on *Livy* ; where his Discourses grounded upon Reason , have yet Matter of Fact to support them, and brings it the nearest to a Demonstration. For Notions in Politicks, unsupported with Fact , seem only bare Opinions ; but from those Accidents and Events that we have seen follow closely the Wisdom and Vertue of Princes, or the Folly and Vices of them, or their Favourites or Ministers (sharing so much their Power) may be reasonably deduc'd that Judgment of Things, which must be useful to Practise, or Avoid, by the Ruling and Obeying Part.

'Tis true that the Instructions of never so many, and so great Examples are lost and useless to such as are easily dejected with Misfortunes, or hurry'd too giddily with Power. Some, whose Minds and Ambitions can never

ver be confin'd, will hardly submit to the Limits of a temperate Reason and Condition ; and who have so much Consideration for themselves, that they cannot have it for others. But as it is most difficult for temperate Vertue to get a full Possession in Man's intemperate Composition, so it is more easie for Distempers and unquiet Diseases, than a calm and peaceable Health to reign in any Constitution.

There are no Prescriptions (in my Opinion at least) so useful against this Sicknes, as the Precedents in History : To see what Glory and Safety Wise and Vertuous Princes have obtain'd, and what Ruin the Cruelty and Folly of Others have brought upon Themselves and Subjects. In every Country their own Precedents are most proper for themselves ; since living under the same Constitutions, they may justly expect the same Effects, from those Happy or Unfortunate Causes.

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In all our Stories I look'd upon none so Instructing as the Part I have chosen ; where the power of firm Vertue, and unsteady Errors so evidently appear'd in their close Operations.

I do not look upon a calm and quiet Reign so much the Proof of steady Vertue, where Peace has descended with the Empire, nor the Troubles of an unquiet Time, so clear an Evidence of unsteady Errors, where the Storms and Troubles descended with the Crown : But when, in an immediate and repeated Succession, the Extremes alternately have preserv'd and destroy'd, I look upon those as the clear Testimonies of the different powers of Vice and Vertue, Steadiness, and Indirectness, Justice and Tyranny.

These Examples are no where to be found more close than in the Reigns of *Edward* the Second, and *Richard* the Second. The first succeeded his Father *Edward*, who came to the Crown

Crown after many Troubles that his Father *Henry* the Third had long labour'd under ; but his steady Vertue overcame all Troubles at home, and conquer'd his Enemies abroad : And was the first that made *England* look like a Powerful and Establish'd Monarchy. His unfortunate Son *Edward* unravel'd what he had wound up ; and by unsteady Errors shook that Power that descended so unshaken to him from his Mighty Father. His Son *Edward* the Third, by the Vertues and Methods of his Grandfather, restor'd what his Father lost. *Richard* the Second, the Son of the *Black Prince*, succeeded his Grandfather in his Throne, but his Great-Grandfather *Edward* the Second in the same fatal and unsteady Measures ; and lost more than the other had gain'd : For tho' he lost his Life like *Edward* the Second, yet he lost more than he ; for with him the Succession ended, and fell into another Line.

No Subject appear'd to me so worthy of Remarques as this ; which evidently shews that there is a general
Temper

Temper in Mankind, fatal to their own Peace, which even and firm Minds wou'd preserve. Fortune and Occasion adds to, or diminishes the Temper of most, who sink either too low, or swell too high: Success makes them false to themselves and others. All modest and profess'd Principles are lost in such a Temptation; and both Kings and Subjects have haras'd one another by such Alterations, and shook the Government they both seem'd tender of.

Sometimes when Kings have been in such a Condition, that is capable to ground sufficient Flattery upon, there never want those, either indigent in Fortune or Vertue, to perswade Kings that Limited Power, (for so they call Laws observ'd) is but the Fetters of a Prince; and they need be worn no longer than he submits to Public Notions: And if a King does not assume all Power, the Subjects will grow into the greater share, and will necessitate him to try for all, or have as good as none.

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On the other-side a Prince attempting this, and failing, he sinks perhaps to grant as much as he design'd to get ; and believes to find a stop in their Desires, who knew none in his own. Subjects are at first modest, and their Desires are grounded upon Common Interest, but usually when they believe their Credit and Condition large enough for a Foundation, they increate as fast in Desires as Fortune gives them occasion ; and, when they gain more than they expected, they will ask more to secure what they had obtain'd : And at last make themselves incapable to trust, or be trusted. It is the nature of Extremities to allow no Retreat ; and the Mischiefs of either side are hurtful to the Common Peace : And where-ever a ravish'd Power rests, the Tyranny is alike.

Nothing more Illustrates this than the unfortunate Reigns of those two unhappy Princes, *Edward* the Second, and *Richard* the Second ; both Princes of resembling Tempers ; not affected with extraordinary Cruelty in
their

their own Natures ; of competent Sense and Courage, but ill Users of both. In Prosperity they seem'd to shew more Courage than they had, and in Adversity less ; by which it naturally appear'd they were more influenced by others than themselves, who flatter'd them in a good Condition, and forsook them in a bad. They were both apt to be fond of Favourites, and the Nobility as apt to hate them : Yet some of them, that condemn'd those Kings for fixing too much their Favours on particular Persons, wou'd perhaps have been as pleas'd to enjoy the same good Fortune. But the Publick was made complain for their private Displeasures ; and the usual immoderate Use of Power in those Favourites caus'd such a distance in the Hearts of King and People, that the attempting the Cure of the Diseases, that sprung from the Infection of ambitious Ministers, procur'd Calamities in the Redress ; as Physicians prescribe one Disease as a Remedy for another , and, to cure a Lethargy, the Patient must be driven into a Fever.

King

King *Edward* gave this Offence by his unlimited Favours to *Gaveston*, and after him to the *Spencers*: King *Richard* to the Duke of *Ireland*, and Earl of *Suffolk*. *Gaveston's* Person was very charming, and his Mind and Frame equally fitted for Luxuries: Which was discern'd by that great Prince *Edward* the First, who banish'd him, and on his Death-bed enjoin'd his Son never to bring him back. He was a Man of Courage, but, when rais'd to Power, he grew from all Evenness of Temper, and was as Insolent as his Fortune was Great.

The *Spencers* succeeded him in Favour: In whom no particular Marks of good Qualities cou'd be trac'd; never satisfied with Wealth, nor ever satiated with Revenge. The Riches of the Nation seem'd but enough to satisfy their Ambitions, and the Destruction of it to secure their Safeties: They first justly made many their Enemies, and then destroy'd them for being so. By this it may seem strange that Princes shou'd have that Excess of

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Value

Value for such worthless Objects, which more ordinary Persons wou'd hardly bestow upon them. But those of the loosest and most debauch'd Principles are aptest to feed the humor of Men, who love to be nourish'd by soft Flatteries; and common People are not Objects for such endeavours. Princes tempt the Tempters, who creep into Power by perpetual Whispers how to enlarge theirs: And, twisting themselves into their Prince's Favour and Opinion, involve his Interest with theirs; and render any Displeasure against them, the Want of Duty to him.

Richard the Second was as unhappy in his Choice of Favourites. The first was the Duke of *Ireland*, better than the rest, but hardly better than any others: He was not a great Studier of Mischief, but a ready Adviser to pursue any Advantage to enlarge Power. He seem'd to want Courage to attempt, and few want Courage to embrace; so that it was possible he might have rested in a limited share of Fortune, and been contented with a
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moderate Quietness, had he not been join'd with the turbulent Earl of *Suffolk* ; who in all Conditions merited the worst Character : In War fearful, in Peace insupportable ; all Vertue unthought of by him, and Mischief his Study, and his diseas'd Mind the common Place of Corruption.

Tresilian the Chief Justice, was an useful Minister to serve such a Favourite ; who was ready to subject Law to Occasion, and make the Occasion suitable to Law. And 'tis probable he got his Place by such Measures ; for his Reason was Violence, and his Justice Cruelty ; there was nothing right or wrong, but what he was directed to determine so ; and gave a full Testimony of himself in the deciding the Ten Queries, propos'd by the Earl of *Suffolk*, all which were resolv'd into Treason, or to merit Death : By which Resolves the Nation was made the Traitor, and the Treason fitted certainly to find out Traitors.

Thus commonly Men attain to Princes Favours, by being more Counsellors to their Humours, than their Interest : and with unconfin'd Flattery, betray them to the Temptation of unlimited Power. And this violent Driving all Things into Extreame was the Fall of those two unhappy Princes; who when they had Power shew'd no Moderation, and when they wanted it betraid as much Dejection.

This shook that Trust, which is the Foundation of Peace, and that once shaken, either side, as Occasion offer'd, acted the same Immoderation which they before condemn'd. Both these Princes in the Change of Fortune, deny'd and granted too much ; and most commonly deny'd what they had granted, and granted what they had deny'd before ; by which they disoblig'd in denying, and their Favours seem'd no Obligation when bestow'd : The first was lookt upon as a Design to injure their Subjects, and the last as a fear of them.

These

These things will be best Illustrated, by giving an impartial Account of some resembling particulars, in the Actions of those unfortunate Princes.

Edward the Second began his Reign with two particular Actions, which shew'd how much he had forgotten his Father's Virtues and Commands; and pursu'd the more pleasing Remembrance of his own Will and Looseness. *Walter de Langton*, Bishop of *Chester*, and Treasurer of *England*, had, like a just Servant, in his Father's Life-time, reprov'd him of those leud Errors that he practis'd in excess; and complain'd of *Gaveston* as the Author, at least Encourager of Vices, so unbecoming a Prince: whose Confinement happening after this, he remembered, when he came to be King, in the first place, to punish a Man that was so full of troublesome Virtue; and Arrested him by Sir *John Felton*, Constable of the *Tower*.

This was contrary to the Proceeding of that Great Prince, *Henry the Fifth* : Who instead of punishing the Chief Justice, *William Gascoigne*, that boldly Imprison'd him, for attempting to violate Justice ; he continu'd him in his Place, and in that Esteem that was due to so upright and just a Man. These contrary Actions, upon the same Occasions, shew the difference between Abject and Mighty Minds. The first seek ways to depress Virtue, the other to encourage it.

The next ill chosen Action was, the receiving the banisht *Gaveston* into Favour, before his Father's Funerals were perform'd. So hasty to disobey his Father's Commands, as if he design'd to disturb the Peace of Others, before he was laid to rest. He presently made him Earl of *Cornwall*, and gave him the Lordship of *Man*. The King's Favours were his Markets, and wore the very Jewels of the Crown, which the King declar'd shou'd have descended to him, were his

his Power equal to the Affection he had for him.

The Queen very early complain'd to her Father, the King of *France*, that the King's Affection to *Gaveston* was so great, that it had both alienated his Love from Her, and Himself from Her Bed. Which made some Writers affirm, that the King was as loose in a personal Affection to him, as he was in his Public Favours.

This so inrag'd the Nobility, that they press for *Gaveston's* Banishment, or threaten (if deny'd) to hinder his Coronation. The King (pursu'd always with a fatal unsteadiness) yields to their Demands ; and promises, in the next Parliament, all they had desir'd : Yet, after he had promis'd the Banishing of *Gaveston*, permits him notwithstanding to carry *St. Edward's* Crown. This aggravates so much, that the next Parliament proceeded much higher : Thus the Ballances began to be tost up and down, as any weight on either-side help'd to hoist up the other.

In the Parliament they pursu'd their advantage, and the King not only grants them Power to draw Articles, but takes his Oath to Confirm whatever they concluded. And he that before seem'd jealous of trusting his Subjects, now gave them an Opportunity of Revenging that Mistrust. The Want of Confidence before seem'd to betray an ill Intention, and this unlimited Confidence confirm'd the Opinion of it : Both betray'd what he design'd both shou'd conceal ; and by the Extreame taught the Fatal Lessons of Jealousie. And those perhaps that advis'd the ill Designs, wanting Power to bring them forth, from their own Fears, gave Counsels contrary to their former Advices in a better Condition : For Men without Principles are guided by those Opinions that unequal Fears, or unsteady Ambition gives them ; and receive no Counsel from even Principles, or unshaken Vertue.

These

These Mistakes provok'd the Banishment of *Gaveston*, and the King became liable to Perjury when-ever they pleas'd. But after he had committed this Error, he pursues it with a greater; and tho' he banisht *Gaveston* to keep his Oath, he violates again his Faith by recalling him.

Gaveston had not been long in Banishment, but the King began to appear a sharer in his Sufferings, as he us'd to do. All things with him, he seem'd banisht from himself, as much as the other was from his Kingdom, and not being able to Live without him, in a few Months restor'd him, and receiv'd him with such an Excess of inconsiderate Joy and Kindness, that it seem'd, as if *Gaveston* brought always Charms more Powerful, than any Divine or Humane Obligation.

The Return of *Gaveston*, and, if possible, to an increase of Favour, re-kindled such a Fury in the Barons, that they plainly told the King, That unless *Gaveston* were immediately banisht,

nisht, they would proceed against him as a perjur'd Prince. They seem'd to find out that the King was most inclin'd to grant, when most afraid to deny : A Nature very dangerous to a Prince, and very dangerous to a Favourite, to depend on such a weak and uncertain Temper ; this his frequent Banishments, and at last his Ruine clearly justify'd. Tho 'tis hard for any Prince more firm than he, to secure the Condition of an envied Favourite, against the weight of a displeas'd and injur'd Nation.

This sharp Proceeding of the Barons, obtain'd his last Banishment ; but *Ireland* was no more to be his Refuge : *France*, and indeed all Places abroad, seem'd unsafe, by the Power and Interest of the King of *France*, who probably wou'd not neglect, by any means, to Revenge his Daughter's Injuries, receiv'd from this powerful Favourite.

Gaveston seem'd to contemplate this in his Banishment ; and determin'd with himself, that no Place cou'd yet be

be so safe, as to fly back to his King's Arms, placing also some hopes in the Marriage of his Niece.

Upon this he adventures into *England*, and according to his expectation, was receiv'd again by the King, with his usual Excess of inconsiderate Joy : the Satisfaction of having *Gaveston* again, appearing of more weight to him, than the Dissatisfaction it would certainly give to the whole Nation, and make them as careless of their Duty and Affections, as he had been of his Oaths and Promises.

The King kept his *Christmas* at *York*, where all Rejoycings seem'd to proceed from his enjoying *Gaveston* again. Which so inflam'd the Lords, who now lookt upon themselves as despis'd and injur'd to the last degree, that they resolv'd to take Arms, and chose for their Leader, *Thomas Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Ferrers*, and afterwards by Marriage Earl of *Lincoln and Salisbury*.

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The Barons assembled at *Bedford*, where they made the Earl of *Gloucester Custos Angliæ*, and took care to Guard the Seas, least Strangers shou'd come in, to Aid the King. By this it may be observ'd, that it was presum'd, when a King violates his Oath and Contracts with his People, that they had a Right to endeavour to Relieve themselves : and to take Care of the Administration of that Power, that he had so much abused and forfeited.

The Barons with their United Powers marcht to *Tork*, where *Gaveston* was left, who fled from thence to *Scarborow*, where they closely besieged him : Who seeing now no means of safety, but the hopes of once more getting into the King's Presence, delivered himself up, upon those Terms ; and was committed to the Custody of *Aymer de Valence* Earl of *Pembrook*, who undertook to see the Condition perform'd : And brought him to a Mannor of his, between *Warwick* and *Oxford*. But the next Day in the Morning, the Earl of *Warwick* came
with

with Forces, and took him away, and carried him to *Warwick-Castle*: Where, after some Consultations among the Lords, he was brought to a Place, then called *Blacklow*, and there, in their Presence Beheaded; the King using many Solicitations, tho' to no purpose, to prevent the Fatal Blow.

Thus a King seem'd to Petition, which nothing but the Total Destruction of all Trust and Confidence could have render'd ineffectual.

The Lords swell'd with this Success (the usual effects of ravish'd Power) march with an Army towards *London*, where the King then was; where Necessity, and not Choice, seem'd to be the Means that a Parliament was call'd. Where the King complain'd of the Barons; who justify'd their violent Actions, by the Errors of their Prince. And plead Merit for having purchas'd the banishing of Strangers to quiet the People. Thus unsteady Actions beget wild Arguments, and false Pretensions are too much supported by Power.

How-

However a Composition for the present was made by the Queen, the Bishops, and the Earl of *Gloucester*, who calm'd the Barons into a Temper of Asking the King's Pardon; and several Articles were agreed on for present Satisfaction: Which seem'd as if the Lords had more Inclinations to Obedience than Rebellion; and wanted but the prudent Justice of a Prince to be apply'd to cure those Wounds that jealous Discontents had made.

But the Mischief of former ill Humors and Counsels remain'd; and began to shew themselves by the delay of performing what was agreed of: Which was the Cause that the Earls of *Lancaster*, *Arundel*, *Warwick*, and *Warren*, refus'd to go with the King against the *Scots*.

It seems strange that Unsteadiness and Injustice, two of the weakest Errors of Mankind, shou'd become Rules for Princes to act by: Which cou'd hardly be possible, were they not resign'd to the Counsels of others,
and

and consequently to their Interests, who cannot by National Methods pursue their ambitious Designs, and protect what they obtain. The Pursuits of Honour and Riches are seldom limited, and putting a Distance between King and People, is the only means to keep them remote from Examination and Justice; and at last involve their Interest so with his, that to question them, is to attack his Dignity.

To foment Differences between the King and others was now acted by little Artifices; one instance of which was the taking away the Earl of *Lancaster's* Wife by one *Richard St. Martin*, claiming her as his, and that he had formerly lay'n with her: And he claim'd by her the two Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*. This was an Action that seem'd to shew the Encouragement and Assistance of great Power; nor did they that contriv'd it, omit their chief Aim of having the King thought a Party: At once to ingage him in their Designs and Animosities, and to revenge himself and them
by

by particular Injuries. For 'tis not to be presum'd that such a Man, as the Earl of *Lancaster*, cou'd have such a Violence committed in his House by an inconsiderable Fellow, without great Assistance of Force and Power. And the two Earldoms (that, it seems, rested in her) were Arguments, that the Design was to affront the Earl of *Lancaster* in the Diminution of his Honour, and to make an irreconcilable Difference between the King and him; who being related to the King, and a Man of great Quality and Interest, might perhaps be an Obstacle to those Designs, which were contriving by the new Favourites. And 'twas an improper Consideration for such, to consider whether the King's Interest and Honour were best serv'd by this, but onely whether their own Designs were not best pursu'd.

And now the same Fatal Humor began to shew itself, and *Hugh Spencer* the younger (who, *Mezeray* says, had been bred in an unbecoming Familiarity, and had an absolute Empire over him) succeeded *Gaveston* in an al-

almost unlimited Favour and Power. The first Difference that this caus'd, appear'd at the Siege of *Berwick*, which being near taken from the *Scots*, the King declar'd his Design to make the younger *Spencer* Governour of it. Upon which the Earl of *Lancaster* withdrew his Forces, with whom the Lords presently took Arms, and declar'd the Cause to be, for the removing the *Spencers*: The Father being now got into joint Commission of Favour with his Son, who govern'd with as much Insolence and Absoluteness as ever *Gaveston* had done.

: With their Forces they advance towards the King, and boldly demand the Banishment of the *Spencers*. The King, being not strong enough at present to oppose them, gives a temperate Answer; onely seeming averse to punish any, but by Form of Law, and therefore wou'd not banish them unheard: but promises they shou'd answer to any Charge, and swore he wou'd never pardon Offences prov'd. This Answer did not yet satisfie the

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Lords,

Lords, who continu'd their March to *London*, where the King grants all things deny'd before.

The King, that had yielded to what was demanded by Force, out of the Apprehension of that Power, retain'd yet his former Inclinations; and was so us'd to act by Indirectness, that he rather proceeded by a Familiar Method, than any new Necessity, and practis'd as much from Nature, as Occasion.

The *Spencers* by an Edict, publish'd in *Westminster-Hall* by the Earl of *Hereford*, were banish'd the Realm: But in a very little time (when the Lords were return'd Home) the Edict was revok'd in a Council held at *London*, where the Archbishop of *Canterbury* declar'd the Banishment of the *Spencers* to have been erroneous.

As soon as the Lords were retir'd to their promised Quiet, having obtain'd what they desir'd, the King began to design to revenge on them the
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Displeasure, for what himself had granted; as if all his Favours were his Errors, and his Severity his prudent Justice. Thus while they thought themselves restor'd to Peace, the King prepares for War; and suddenly raising Forces pursues the Barons, many of whom revolt to him. The rest made such Preparations as was possible in so short a time, and stay'd with their Forces at *Burton* upon *Trent*. When the King's Army advanc'd to them they perceiv'd they very much exceeded in Numbers: So that the Earl of *Lancaster* thought it wisest to retreat, especially considering that he had sent Sir *Robert Holland* to raise more Forces among his Tenants; which Supplies he thought it was Prudence to wait for. But the Indea-
vour to Retreat gave the King's Forces an addition of Courage from that Testimony of their Fear; which was made use of by *Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, who then commanded the King's Army: And after some Resistance put them to flight. After which the Earl of *Lancaster*, and

many Noblemen and Gentlemen were taken Prisoners : The News, or his own Falseness, brought Sir *Robert Holland*, with his new-rai'd Forces, to join with the King.

As soon as these mighty Enemies were in the King's Power, the *Spencers* (full of Revenge) urg'd on for the Execution of all. 'Tis said that *Valence* the Earl of *Pembrook*, who obtain'd the Victory, interceded for Mercy ; but this rather hastens their Fate : For *Spencer* was so apprehensive that the King's Mercy to any wou'd be a Cruelty to him, that he successfully urg'd a quick Execution. The King with other Lords (among whom was *Hugh Spencer*, now Earl of *Winchester*) sat and gave Judgment upon the Earl of *Lancaster*, who was presently beheaded, and many other Lords in their several Countreys, to disperse Terror in every place. Above twenty Men of Quality were put to Death at this time : The first Blood of this nature that ever was shed since the Conquest.

Besides

Besides the Earl of *Lancaster* there dyed fourteen Lords and Barons; their Estates and Inheritances were seized, and were us'd to advance a new sort of Men who must needs applaud and flatter such Counsels and Successes, that had been so favourable to them. And questionless the streams of Flattery flow'd to the King for his choice of such a Favourite as *Spencer*; who had now enthron'd him once again, and by so much Blood procur'd him the surest Coronation. Nor was *Spencer* less blind in the judgment of his own Condition; who was now Master of his King, and of all those Spoils that this bloody Success had thrown into his ambitious Arms. But his Condition was too prosperous temperately to consider the Uncertainty of a violent Prosperity, watch'd by the unwearied searches of Envy and Revenge.

Counsels and Actions now appear'd, as commonly after such Success; Law lay contemn'd under Power, and the

Interest of the Nation under Conquest ; all temperate and composing Actions formerly us'd were now reflected on as a Prince's shame , and any thing less than Arbitrary Power his Dishonour : An ill-chosen ground of safety in its own nature, but most improper to ingage a Prince in , who by the weakness of an unsteady Judgment , and the ill use of Power , had sufficiently by Mistrust prepar'd Mens Minds not to be cozen'd into Slavery. It must be the concurrence of many strange Accidents, and the close reserve of a Prince's Nature, that must steal him into Absolute Power : Otherwise we had heard of many more successful Tyrants in the World. For I doubt not , but generally the Nature of Men hath been more ready to embrace such Power, than their Abilities or Accidents have comply'd to assist them in : And we seldom read of such as become Slaves , but such as have been well-cozen'd Subjects.

The

The King's Power now seemingly grown to a great heighth, by the Numbers that his Success increas'd, flatter'd him as well as their Tongues, that nothing was able to resist him: And (perhaps to find use for those Forces that now must be kept together) resolves to march from *York* into *Scotland*, rather with a mighty Number than a powerful Army; never considering that such Numbers, without suitable Discipline and Provisions, were a weakness to themselves. The *Scots*, it seems, consider'd this, for they kept close, and hinder'd them of all Provisions, leaving them to overcome themselves. For Want increasing, they were beaten without Blows; and return'd, pursu'd by Want and Dishonour, as well as by the *Scots*: Who enter'd far into *England*, and return'd with great Spoils into *Scotland*.

This unhappy King, not made for Counsels, was as well not born for Triumphs; and was now perhaps at

a calmer leisure to consider what he had done. It seem'd something like regretting thoughts, when, being earnestly sollicit'd to Pardon one of the Earl of *Lancaster's* Followers (a Man of a mean Condition) he exclaim'd with passion against such Counsellors that press'd him to spare the Life of such a Fellow, and spoke not one word to save the Life of the Earl, tho' his near Kinsman, whose Blood had so near a relation to his own: Making this true reflection, That his Life might have been useful to him, the other's cou'd not.

Misfortune seem'd, at this instant, to give the King a more temperate Consideration, which in the streams of Success he wou'd hardly have had leisure to entertain. But this was rather an unsteady than a firm Return to better and more prudent Thoughts and Counsels: His Nature was still the same, which made his Favours or Displeasure equally dangerous.

Sir

Sir *Andrew de Herkley*, who was raised to the Earldom of *Carlisle*, for taking the Earl of *Lancaster*, shew'd the truth of this : For growing great enough to give Apprehension to the *Spencers*, or as some write, for combining with the *Scots*, he lost his new-enjoy'd Honours together with his Life ; being first Degraded of them, and then Executed : So that the King seem'd at one time ready to Destroy, and to revenge Destruction ; just as the Displeasure and Spleen of his ambitious Favourites guided him.

It is no wonder if so easie a Conquest over a King shou'd swell the Conquerour enough to burst him ; nor that so much Wealth and Glory shou'd so much dazzle the Eyes of *Spencer* as to make him lose his way : But all seem'd calm, nor any little Speck so like a Cloud that seem'd to threaten any Storm ; and the Instability of this World in general is seldom the Contemplation of the Fortunate and Ambitious.

This

This made him attempt that which was the highest Testimony of his believ'd Security, in lessening the Queen's Attendance and Maintenance. The *Spencers* were not fatiated with all the late Spoils of the King's Enemies, nor with the Sale of his Favours to his Friends : Places and Honours were purchas'd as in a common Market, and every Thing inclos'd, or expos'd as they pleas'd. Yet, it seem'd, all this was not enough, or certainly they wou'd not have endeavour'd to supply the Want by the Queen's Prejudice, and raise the most probable Storm to disturb their prosperous Course. For the Queen had been hitherto a Support, an Instrument of composing Differences ; but being denied to be entertain'd at *Leeds Castle*, which then belonged to the Lord *Baltmore*, she alter'd from that more happy inclination ; and grew rather the Studier of Revenge for the Injury received.

It

It might seem strange that Favou-
rites cou'd find ways to wast as much
as wou'd support and supply the Pub-
lick ; and then seek ways as extrava-
gant to get it : And yet more strange
that a King shou'd be a Party in the
dangerous ways that led to his own
Ruin, and careful to preserve them by
the hazard of himself. When *Gave-*
ston, and the *Spencers*, seem'd forsaken
by God and Man, they were never
by their unfortunate Prince : But by
him the Whole was judg'd more
Guilty, and less Wise, than his Fa-
vourites.

In the fatal stream of Fortune the
Prosperous and Ambitious think of
nothing but Enjoyments, detest a So-
ber (much more a Melancholy) Con-
sideration of those strange and sudden
Alterations and Changes that this
World is subject to. But think that
their Greatness and Prosperity has
chain'd up Accidents ; and that For-
tune (which had flatter'd them as
much as they had done their Prince)
wou'd

wou'd always be as obedient, as she had been seemingly fond of them : Affliction gives Thoughts admittance, but the swell'd Minds of the successfully Ambitious seldom endure to think.

The first Accident that shew'd this truth, was the Troubles that arose in *France* ; which grew so high, that all the King's Territories were adjudg'd to be forfeited, and many Places of Importance seized. The Storm was so violent, that there was no hopes of becalming this roughness, but by the King's going in Person to pay his Homage, or at least the Queen to mediate with her Brother. But the *Spencers* thought it unsafe to be separated from the King ; who yet was the only Fence against the Sea of Discontent, whose Tide every day appear'd to swell : And they that had destroy'd all Trust, had Reason enough to be Jealous.

Such

Such Men, so constantly guided by pleasing Weaknesses, might not perhaps discern the Queen might be a dangerous Instrument to employ, that had been so disoblig'd. But commonly those that do Injuries, are the least apprehensive that they will be remembered : Or commonly, having no Fear of those they Oppress, they never consider the future possibility of Revenge. But if they had apprehended Damage to themselves in the Queen's going ; yet they chose the least Evil nothing appearing so terrible as parting with the King.

Thus the Queen was sent away with an indifferent Train, and acted seemingly so well, that she brought Things to a fair Accommodation ; but upon such Terms as did necessitate the Prince her Son to be sent over to her. With him she had what she desir'd, a Foundation to build her Revenge upon, that had long been rak'd up in warm Embers : which now she began to discover. And the beginning

ning of this Fire breaking out, was made known to the King by the Bishop of *Exeter*, who secretly withdrew into *England*. The Queen and Prince were presently Summon'd into *England*; but she was stay'd by the most powerful Causes, Love and Revenge. For she, that now seem'd free from all Tyes to her King and Husband, plac'd her loose Affections upon *Roger Mortimer*; who had lately escap'd out of the *Tower*, and from the Oppression of the *Spencers*. She knew *England* cou'd neither be safe to her nor *Mortimer*, whom she lov'd as herself: And therefore resolv'd to trust to any thing rather than her Husband, or the *Spencers*.

The Queen thus delaying her Obedience to the King in returning to *England*, she and the Prince were declar'd Enemies to the Kingdom; and they, and their Adherents banish'd. And at the same time the Queen receiv'd Intelligence, that there were great Sums offer'd to have the Prince murder'd: Upon which she withdrew

to

to the Earl of *Haynault*, where she contracted her Son to *Philippa* Daughter to the Earl: And there procures some Forces and Money.

Tho her Forces were inconsiderable; yet she reasonably depended upon what she shou'd find in *England*, not what she brought: For she knew that any Thing wou'd be welcom, that brought a shew of Redeeming them from the Oppressions they suffer'd under. With these therefore she ventur'd to Sea, and after some variety of Accidents, she landed with her Forces near *Harwich*; where immediately she found all her Conjectures true. For many Lords, and Bishops repair'd to her; among them the two Bishops of *Hereford* and *Lincoln*: The first not forgetting the particular Wrong, and both zealously remembering the Injury the Clergy had receiv'd.

The King had now the clamorous Effects of ill Counsels calling too loud upon him; yet saw no way left to reco-

recover or repair the Misfortune those Errors had brought him into. Wherever he went he found no Subjects, those, with their Hearts, were lost before: But, led by as uncertain Counsels as his Life was Govern'd, he knew not whither to fly, but onely fled. He saw *London* was unsafe, who were all turn'd from Duty to him, in Affection to the Queen: Nor cou'd he propose any Place for himself, where he had not reason to expect certain Enemies, or worse, uncertain Friends. After many Motions, as various as his former Humor, he design'd for the Isle of *Lundy*; and takes with him the Earl of *Gloucester*, the *Spencers*, and *Robert Baldock* that was Chancellor; and with some few others takes shipping: Shewing how Man's Nature waits upon Fortune, and changes with it. They that before cou'd not be content with so much Plenty and Dominion, shew'd now no more Ambition than what a small naked Island cou'd satisfy, where Safety was their onely hope, and a chosen Prison their Liberty.

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The King had left the Government of the City of *London* to *Walter Stapleton*, Bishop of *Exeter*, and Lord Treasurer. But the City, to shew their good Will to the Queen, among the many Testimonies she receiv'd, gave a bloody one of their Devotion to her increasing Success; and struck off the Bishop's Head, and seiz'd the Tower of *London*: Killing many in their Fury, and acting those lawless Cruelties that they before condemn'd.

These strange Revolutions evidently shewed the various Powers of Adversity and Prosperity, how it depresses some below themselves, and lifts up others beyond their Reasons and Consciences. The Queen, that had been before the Repairer of her Husband's Errors, now makes use of them to his Ruin; she, that us'd to bring Peace to heal those Wounds ill Counsel made, brought War to make them wider: And while she condemn'd those Diseases that made the

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Nation

Nation sick, she made Rebellion the Cure. But Success (as it uses to do) made her not onely act worse than herself, but worse than those she had condemn'd. At first she onely declar'd against the Favourites; and perhaps then onely design'd their Ruins: But she ought not, with the loss of her own Vertue, to try to Cure what the want of it in others had caus'd. But had not the Rapidness of her good Fortune hurry'd her so fast from herself, she might have discern'd she was expos'd upon so violent a Stream, as wou'd hurry her by its own Force, and not by her direction; and others at last wou'd use that Power, which (in such Cases as these are) is seldom retain'd long by the Raisers of it: Mighty Causes, that bring Disorders, like Tempests raise up Things first, and toss up unthought-of Ruins upon them, and a Succession of Mischiefs lasts till the Storm ceases. No Age but has afforded these Examples; and yet we see it not powerful enough to teach those, that wou'd be safe in Vertue, not to hazard being corrupted by Power violently obtain'd. The

The Queen now, with still-increasing Forces, pursues her flying King and Husband; and from Oxford marches to Gloucester: And from thence to Bristol, where the King had put the Earl of Arundel, and Spencer the Father, to defend the Place; which was fortified as well as the time wou'd give them leave. But this place quickly yielded to that Success, which seem'd to deny all Hopes to the King's declining Condition. Spencer was there taken, and executed with all the Rigour that Revenge and Conquest cou'd invent; and with as much Contempt of Law, as he and his Son had formerly shew'd: They condemn'd him without any Tryal; and prevented his Natural Determination, which cou'd not have been long, being then above Fourscore Years old.

Proclamation was about this time made, that if the King wou'd come in, and conform himself to the Laws and Government, he shou'd be restor'd by the general Consent of the

People. But the King either durst not, or his Favourite *Spencer* durst not let him trust this Declaration : Such Ministers, made desperate, hold their King the faster the more sinking their Condition is ; and rather choose that the Hazard of their Prince may save them , than their Ruin save their Prince ; tho' perhaps in his prosperous Condition they flatter'd him , That their Lives and Fortunes shou'd always be Sacrifices for Him. But tis equally strange, that Princes in great Power and Prosperity shou'd with Pleasure believe Flatterers , and that those interess'd Flatterers shou'd hope to be believ'd : It shews a Fatal Weakness in the one, and loose Designs in the others.

Those also that put forth this Proclamation , to call the King to his own Government, did perhaps as little desire he shou'd embrace it. For this was but once done, and seem'd rather a thing us'd to cover what was intended, than a clear intention in its self. For the eager pursuit of
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the King was still continu'd; who (as some say) seeking to Land in *Lundy* was driven by Tempest into *Wales*; and in the Abbey of *Nethe*, or as some write, near the Castle of *Lantruffan*, in *Glamorgan-shire*, lay sometime conceal'd. From *Hereford* the Queen divided part of her Army, under the Command of *Henry Earl of Lancaster*, into *Wales*, in pursuit of the King: Who, by the means of one *Ryce ap Powel* (who was well acquainted in the Country) took the King in the Monastery. This Earl of *Lancaster* was Brother to him that was Beheaded at *Pomfret*: And seem'd to shew a powerful pursuit of Blood, to bring the King into the Mercy of a Family where he had shew'd so little.

Others say, that the King, and the younger *Spencer*, were in the Castle of *Bristol* when it was Besieged; from whence (fearing the Event) he, with the younger *Spencer*, stole away by Night; and endeavouring to'scape by Sea, his Boat was beaten back:

And trying to put out again, it was discover'd by the Lord *Beaumont*, who chas'd them with a small Vessel, and took the King and *Spencer* in it. However, they all agree that *Spencer* was taken with him, as if the King must always appear inseparable from the Cause of his Misfortunes.

The Earl of *Arundel*, that was taken at *Bristol*, was Beheaded; at the Instance of *Mortimer*, who now Govern'd the Queen's Affections and Affairs. Perhaps the Execution of this Earl of *Arundel* might the sooner be caus'd, by his Relation to the younger *Spencer*, who marry'd his Daughter; but the same thing that creates a prosperous Interest in one Condition, brings Ruin in another.

The younger *Spencer* was carry'd along, onely to Grace the Queen's marching Triumph; and, as the chief Cause of her Taking Arms, he was render'd as contemptible a Spectacle as was possible; And expos'd in a
fitting

sitting posture, to increase the Scorns and Reproaches, that use to attend such miserable Objects. And perhaps some were mingl'd in the Crowd, that had formerly in his prosperous Greatness, saluted him with fawning Acclamations. At last he was eas'd of all his Sufferings, tho' by a Death as full of Torments as cou'd easily be imagin'd; which yet he indur'd with much seeming Calmness: Perhaps wearied with so much Shame and Misery, he might be willing by any way to find an undisturb'd Quietness.

Presently after this, the Queen came to *London*, with her Son *Edward*, and her Favourite *Mortimer*; where she was receiv'd, with as many Testimonies of Joy and Satisfaction, as cou'd spring from Two such Great Causes; as the Misfortune of her unhappy Husband, and her own Success. A Parliament or Convention was then Summon'd, which was held the next day after the *Epiphany*; where it was adjudg'd, That *Edward* the Second

was no longer fit to wear the Crown; and for his Male-Administration of the Royal Authority, was therefore Deposed, and his Son to be Elected King.

To this the Bishops consented, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* Preacht upon the Occasion, chusing a proper Text: *Vox Populi, Vox Dei.*

The Queen, when she heard of this heavy Sentence of Deposing her Husband, seem'd to sink under the Weight that He was to bear; and to act the Part of a good Wife, in sharing the Misfortune of her Husband: But she that by Force had helpt to reduce him to that Condition, cou'd hardly with counterfeited Tears, and feigned Lamentations perswade any to believe that she really deplor'd it. Besides that unjustifiable Passion for *Mortimer*, which had so long, and so violently govern'd her, might be a sufficient assurance that there cou'd not be kindness enough left for her unhappy Husband, to cause a real Grief for his Calamity.

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The Prince her Son, either mov'd by that specious shew of Sorrow, which might easily deceive so tender an Innocence; or, which is more probable, urg'd by his own natural and generous Temper; Vow'd, He would never accept the Crown, but by his Father's Consent. Upon which, Commissioners from the Assembly, or Convention were sent to the King: which consisted of Three Bishops, *Winchester*, *Hereford*, and *Lincoln*; The Earls of *Leicester* and *Warren*; Two Justices, Two Barons, Four Members for the City of *London*, and Three Knights for every Shire to represent the Counties; the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Hereford* went before to prepare and perswade the King to Relinquish the Crown. And as Promises for what is desired, usually exceed the Performances when obtain'd, they assur'd him, he should live more happy than before: And that in a manner, he should only resign his Cares, and enjoy an undisturb'd Quiet and Plenty. On the other-side, they threaten'd,

ten'd, That if he were vainly obstinate, not to grant what the People wou'd take, and which was desired of him to satisfy his Son, the Prince, he wou'd not prevent his own Fate, but bring a Misfortune on his Posterity ; for in that Case the People wou'd chuse a King that had no Relation to his Blood.

A little after, the Commissioners being arrived, that were to receive his Resignation, the King came forth in Mourning, and, at the sight of a form'd Power, ready to take away his, sunk down ; but being reviv'd, *Adam d' Orleton*, Bishop of *Hereford*, deliver'd the subject matter of their Commission, which was, That the Common-Wealth had found his Government to be grievous and oppressive, which had been prov'd by many Particulars in the General Assembly at *London*, for which they had resolv'd he shou'd no longer be King over them ; but yet they were willing to Elect his Son to wear the Crown ; which if he shou'd refuse to Resign to him ;

him ; they were resolv'd not only to reject him, but wou'd chuse a Man, that might be proper for the Support of the Government, and Defence of the Kingdom : without any Consideration of being Related to his Blood.

The King receiv'd this heavy Sentence with a Sorrow proportion'd to it. And considering perhaps, that by denying to Resign his Crown, he might involve his Son, and his Posterity in his own hard Fate, told them : That he submitted to all things with the more Patience, since his Offences caus'd the Misery that was fallen upon him ; yet, it cou'd not but aggravate his Calamity, that his People were possess'd with such a hatred to him, that they wou'd no longer endure him for their Sovereign : Yet if his Condition could admit of any Consolation, it must proceed from the Kindness they had yet retained for his Son : And thank't them for the Testimony of it in Electing him their King.

After

After this Resignation , and the delivery of the Royal Ensigns , the Commissioners caus'd a Formal Renunciation to be pronounc'd , which was done by *William Trussel* in these words :

UNto Thee , O King , I William Trussel , in the Name of all Men of this Land of England , and Prolocutor of this Parliament , Resign to Thee Edward , the Homage that was made to Thee sometime , and from this time forth , Deprive Thee of all Kingly Power : And I shall never be Attendant on Thee as King after this time.

Which being pronounc'd , Sir Thomas Blount , Steward of the King's House , by breaking his Staff , Resign'd his Office , and Dissolv'd the Household.

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The Ceremonies being perform'd, the Commissioners with the Royal Ensigns return'd to *London*; and reported to the Assembly the King's Resignation. Who presently Elected his Son *Edward* the Third, for their King.

The Queen, now with her beloved *Mortimer*, with the Advice of her great Counsellor the Bishop of *Hereford*, assum'd the Exercise of all Power, and quickly shew'd, what a counterfeited Sorrow for her unfortunate Husband, she tryed to Disguise herself in; for she now allow'd him but an Hundred Marks by the Year, while she procur'd a third part of the Revenue to be settled on herself; and *Mortimer*, the worst of Men, by her guilty Passion, seem'd onely to Reign. But, in a little time, his Actions met with that just Punishment, that was due to them.

Philip

Philip de Comines, in his third Book, takes Notice, that the Great Earl of *Warwick* subdued *England* in Eleven days; and King *Edward* the Fourth recovered it in One and Twenty. Tho' these were sudden Revolutions, yet the Fortune of them was dispos'd by many Battels; but this was as sudden, yet without a Blow: which shews no Force to be greater than the Power of Injuries and Oppressions. And upon all such Occasions, the weight of this Nation has ever been heavy enough to hoist up any Power built upon Oppression. For tho' in Prosperity, and the full Gust of Power, this mighty Force, lying (as it were in Ambush) in the vexed Minds of injur'd Subjects, is undiscern'd and slighted; and the fatal Precedents, made by the Errors of others, are seldom made use of to ourselves: Yet when it begins to shew itself, it seems no wonder that the united Minds of all, conclude for themselves. But Men are so much their own Flatterers, that they believe

lieve every thing permanent they wish to be so : And Favourites that cannot submit to share a Common Benefit, venture at uncertain Advantages, and make it a principle to depend more upon Mens Fears than Love. By the Mighty and Ambitious Mischiefs and Disturbances are wrought, but the Weak and Moderate desire Peace and Quietness.

The unhappy King was now kept in Confinement, with a small Allowance, that he might be deprived of all things that resembled a Prince's Condition : And suffer'd now, for his unsteady Errors ; as much perhaps by the wounding reflection of their Memory, as by what he indured for them. But too late he was taught Truth by Misery ; and saw the difference to lose those Friends that cou'd preserve him, and keep none but such as cou'd onely help to destroy him. Princes sometimes believe, that the Right of Power shou'd preserve them, notwithstanding the want of Conscience in the using of
it :

it : But when their Errors have contracted Enemies, and the same Errors rais'd Accidents enough, to give Power and Opportunity to those Enemies ; misguided Princes (like this unhappy King) will find, that injur'd People with as much want of Tenderneſs will Revenge their Wrongs, as they ſhew'd in the Oppreſſion.

It will now, in this particular be made good, that the Graves of Princes are near their Prisons. This unfortunate King deplor'd that his Wife whom he had ſo much lov'd, cou'd not be prevail'd with now to ſee him. But ſhe had been ſo much poſſeſt by a fond Paſſion for *Mortimer*, that all Duty and Virtue was long before ſacrificed to that Idol ; and her Husband was as much her Apprehenſion as Averſion. *Mortimer* alſo as wickedly Jealous, thought himſelf never ſafe while the King liv'd, nor cou'd they be ignorant of the Murmurs againſt their ſcandalous courſe of Life ; and that the hard uſage of the King proceeded from thence, which urg'd them

them to the cruel Opinion, that his Death was their onely Security.

In the mean time, the unfortunate Prince remain'd in the Custody of his Kinsman the Earl of *Leicester*, who shew'd some Compassion for his deplorable Condition, and us'd him with great Humanity ; but such was the Misfortune that attended his Condition, the least kindness shew'd to him, did but provoke his Destruction. For the cruel Queen grew not only enrag'd that he liv'd well, but that he liv'd at all ; and urg'd by an Information, that there was a Design laid to take the King by Force out of the Castle of *Killingworth*, she took Advice of her mischievous Counsellor, the Bishop of *Hereford*, and removed him from thence into the Custody of Sir *Thomas Gurny*, and Sir *John Matravers*, with a Commission to carry him where they wou'd, and probably to destroy him how they pleas'd ; for they had such a large Authority, that all Governours of Castles where-ever they came, were for

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the time to resign their Powers to them.

In all their Travels from place to place, no despightful Usage was omitted to him ; the insulting upon Adversity being the property of base and cruel Natures ; they carried him from *Bristol*, upon an Alarm of some design'd Attempt to release him, and by the way to keep him from being known, they made the wretched King sit upon the ground, and caus'd a Barber to shave him with Water fetcht from a Ditch ; at which he said, He would supply them with warm Water : meaning his Tears which he shed plentifully.

At last they brought him to *Berkley*, where he was wickedly Murthered with a Hot Iron thrust thro' a Pipe behind up into his Bowels, by which way they thought the least discovery might be made, by what manner of Death he died ; tho' his loud Groans and Cries sufficiently declared the Violence of it.

Some

Some write, that the Bishop of Hereford, by a dark Sentence instigated the Murderers to hasten the Execution, by this Line :

*Edoardum Occidere Nolito timere
bonum est :*

At once giving them Encouragement, and concealing an Excuse for himself. But Ecclesiastical Riddles are dangerous, and sometimes their Expositions of Texts are no other.

After this horrid Execution, the Murtherers, *Gourney* and *Matravers* expected Rewards, but found the Queen and Bishop readier rather to Threaten and Accuse them, than to own the Service, and were forc'd to fly beyond Sea, to seek a safety for their loath'd Lives. But *Gourney*, after three Years, was taken and sent to *England*, and by the way had his Head struck off. *Matravers* fled into *Germany*, where in Repentance he had time to wast a miserable Life.

This King Reign'd something above Eighteen Years, and was Murther'd in the Forty-third Year of his Life ; His Body was carry'd to *Gloucester*, and there buried without any Ceremony. His Character I will reserve, till I joyn it with *Richard* the Second's, since the same Methods and Errors in Government work'd the same Effects : And both Princes equally Unfortunate.

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THE Reigns of *Edward* the Second, and *Richard* the Second, (to which I am now proceeding) may be justly said to be, as *Mezeray* calls the Reign of *Henry* the Third of *France* [the Reign of Favourites] who did enervate all his Vertues, and dispos'd him to Looseness and Carelessness; deafned and confounded him with Flatteries; prompted him to observe no Law but his Will; while they were the Disposers of all things: At which many Great Men and others retir'd discontented, and left the Favourite-Ministers at large to pursue their Ambition; and with new Inventions to waſt and pillage the King's Revenue.

This Description ſuits with the beginning of this unfortunate King, *Richard* the Second; who after the Death of his Grandfather, that Great Prince *Edward* the Third, ſucceeded

him in the Throne : His Father, the Famous Black Prince, dying in his Father's time. Who, by contrary Methods to what they us'd, met as contrary Fortunes : The Comeliness and Beauty of his Person (exceeding all his Predecessors) only seem'd to entitle him to a Generous Father, and as Beautiful a Mother. But that promising Person, which might have become Great Actions, was turn'd to Looseness and Pleasures : And Flatterers broke in to encourage that dissolute Carelessness, which they found wou'd be suitable to his Nature, and their ambitious Designs.

The three chief Favourites and Ministers were *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, afterwards Marquess of *Dublin*, and Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Robert Tresilian* Lord Chief Justice. The Duke of *Ireland* seem'd the best, as hardly he cou'd do otherwise, being set with two such Foils : *Michael de la Pool* was a Model of compleated Vices ; in Peace the most odiously insolent,
in

in War the most dejectedly contemptible : He despis'd all Methods of Quietness, and yet was frighted with the least disturbance. *Tresilian* the Chief-Justice that never shew'd his Place or Title by any Practice, but was ready to prostrate all Law to Oc-casion, and Justice to Designs ; his Knowledge was Leudness, and his Vertue Violence ; what others de-sign'd he was ready to execute : And being kept up in this Darkness, he grew fierce on all things that were cast to him.

This King was called, *Richard of Burdeaux*, because born there, the onely Son of *Edward* the Black Prince. By his Grandfather *Edward* the Third he was, in his Life-time, declar'd his Successor : And after his Death was Crown'd at *Westminster*, in the Year 1377, by *Simon Sudbury* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with great Solemnity. The King being then but Eleven Years old, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, the King's Uncles, with other Lords and

Bishops, were join'd in Commission to manage the State.

The Minority of the King gave Forreign Princes an Opinion, that it was a proper time to attempt upon *England*. The *French* first laid hold on the Occasion, and landed Forces, and did some Mischief; and burnt some Places near the Sea, as about *Rye*, *Portsmouth*, *Dartmouth*, and *Plimouth*, as also *Hastings* and *Winchelsea*. The *Scots* also assaulted the Castle of *Berwick*, and won it; but it was taken again by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Nottingham*: And all put to the Sword, but *Ramsay*, who took it by a bold and desperate Attempt with a few Men.

These Troubles occasion'd a Parliament to be call'd at *Westminster*: Where *Alice Pearce*, the Concubine to the late King *Edward* the Third, was Banish'd, and all her Goods confiscated. A Tax was then given of two Tenths of the Clergy, and two Fifteens of the Temporality: Others write,

write, the Tax was a Pole of 4 *d.* upon every Head. But which soever 'twas, either the Levying it, or the Tax itself, caus'd a sudden and strange Insurrection; begun by the Infusion of one call'd Mr. *John Ball*, a Factious Priest: Using those common Notions against Great Men, who had Power to oppress others, and ruin the manner sort to support their Greatness and Luxuries. This spread to the City, who gave Intelligence, that they were ready to join with the Rabble, that appear'd gather'd from many adjacent Countries. This confus'd Body chose one *Wat Tyler* for their Captain: Whose Assistants, or Privy Counsellors, were *John Ball*, *Jack Straw*, *Thomas Baker*, *Jack Carter*, *Jack Shephard*, and others. *Black-Heath*, as they march'd to *London*, was there Rendezvouz; where they appear'd to be above Sixty Thousand. From thence they march to *London*, declaring themselves for the King and People.

When

When they came to *London*, they were received, either for fear or love, with all freedom, and treated as if they strove who shou'd express themselves best to the flatter'd Rebels : Who like such a Mass of Giddiness, got together, committed nothing but Murder and Violence. They burnt the *Savoy*, the Duke of *Lancaster's* House ; they rifled the *Temple*, and destroy'd the Law-Books, expressing a Spleen against any thing of that Nature. Nor were Churches, or Religious Houses spar'd ; the Good they punish'd, the Bad they cherish'd : Setting all Prisoners at Liberty. Their chief Leader, *Tyler*, remembering some Punishment that his old Master *Richard Lyon* had inflicted on him for some Crime he committed ; without any more Trial or Judgment than what his Revenge allow'd, caus'd his Head to be stricken off, and carry'd before him on a Spear. Their Numbers were now so great, that the King durst not resist their Entrance into the *Tower* ; where they abus'd his

his Mother : And took the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and dragging them to *Tower-Hill*, there Beheaded them.

In the midst of all these Outrages, the King proclaim'd a Pardon to all that wou'd go quietly home : Which the *Essex-Men*, and some others, accepted ; but the *Kentish*, and others, stay'd with their Captain *Tyler*. So that it seem'd as if part of this Rabble were not in the Secret of the Intention, to subvert the Government, and throw down all above themselves from Oppression. Above Twenty Thousand continu'd with their Captain. The King, looking upon this as a good beginning, presented himself in Person before the Rebels ; and spoke to them with all sweetness, promising them Pardon and Favour : But had so rude a Return from *Tyler*, that instead of Submission, he demanded the King's Sword. At which the Mayor of *London* drew his, and struck him to the Ground ; where he

he was presently kill'd. The Rabble seem'd to threaten Revenge : But the City hearing this, and thinking it high time to free their King and themselves from Ruin and Destruction, came to his Relief with a Body of Men. At which sight the affrighted Rebels yielded : And some fled, and deliver'd up their Ring-Leaders ; a Sacrifice that seldom fails to be made of such Tumults. *Jack Straw*, at his Execution, confess'd their Design of destroying all that were above them, in Name or Fortune.

The King's chief Favourites now appear'd to be *Michael de la Pool*, (made Chancellor of *England*, and after Earl) *Robert de Vere*, (Marquess of *Dublin*, and after Duke of *Ireland*) *Alexander* Arch-Bishop of *Tork* ; and *Trefilian* the Chief-Justice. The first Testimony that these shew'd of their Animosities against the Methods of a just Minister , was the Displacing Sir *Richard Scroop*, Lord Chancellor, who in all things us'd an impartial Uprightness, which was
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an Offence to their loose and partial Designs.

But they did not only sharpen the King's Nature against Men in point of Offices and Employments, but against their Lives. The first appearance of this was by the Duke of *Lancaster*; whose Offences were likewise from his Vertues: And his Ruin therefore resolv'd by them, and contriv'd by *Tresilian* to be done by Form of Law (the worst sort of Destroying when violated, but, when truly observed, the best Defence against Destruction).

There are seldom any extream Proceedings in a Government, but there are deprav'd Persons enough in all Conditions, ready to swim with the Stream, and take the benefit of any Tyde of Fortune. For when Mischief is to be practis'd, Corruption is the consequence; and there are always those ready, whom no Consideration ballances in their Natures, with the Weight of Honours and

and Benefit. *Trefilian* was one of those thus prepar'd, and cou'd hardly want as well-condition'd Informers and Juries. The Occasion of doing ill preserv'd from Men, is the surest Cause of their Vertue; but offer'd from those that ought to depress it, is the Temptation of Villany to some, that of themselves perhaps never design'd it. Crimes were prepar'd for the Duke, he never committed; a Jury of Lords were fixt: And it was not onely design'd he should be Arrested, but his Condemnation and Execution were as confidently resolv'd and concluded.

These things were not so secretly contriv'd, but the Duke of *Lancaster* had Notice of them; and privately retir'd, or rather fled to *Pomfret* Castle, where he prepar'd to defend himself. And already Discontents grew so high, that he wanted not Assistance for it; and grew so considerable, that the Queen-Mother thought it worthy her Pains in all Respects to endeavour a compofure. Which she effected, assisted

assisted by the Apprehension of her Son, and the Duty which the Duke of *Lancaster* seem'd yet to retain. So that, for this time, every thing was compos'd, unless their Minds ; which once shaken by Indirectness and Mistrust, are seldom so purely clear'd, but that some Seeds of Jealousie lie ready to spring upon the heat of any Difference. Without Trust the Traffick among Dealers in petty things can never be carry'd on ; and much less the Commerce between Prince and Subjects without Credit.

The King now enter'd upon the Assuming the Government into his own hands ; and from this time grew liable to his own Errors. Appearing wholly regardless of all his great Relations and Nobility : And onely seem'd kind to a Fondness of his Chancellor the Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Duke of *Ireland* ; and their two subservient Friends, the Arch-Bishop of *York*, and *Tresilian* the Chief-Justice. They that had now gain'd the possession of the King's Power and Inclination

tion, shew'd a great Testimony of ther ill use of it, by disposing the King against his brave Uncle, the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Earls of *Warwick* and *Arundel*.

The King was now wholly possesst by these Favourites, and in a particular Manner by the Chancellor *de la Pool*; whose mean Birth was suitable to his Qualities, his Vices so many that he was himself a Grievance: And it seem'd a fatal Unhappiness that the King's Conscience shou'd be intrusted with so corrupt a Keeper. But the King was as violent in his Affections, as others cou'd be in their Displeasures; he seldom regarded what others thought, till necessity inforc'd the Consideration.

These Men that both fear'd and hated any Men of Honour and Quality, that might have Interest to cross their Designs, laid hold of an Occasion to be rid of one of the greatest, the Duke of *Lancaster*, by assisting him with Forces to conquer *Spain*: Which
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he claim'd in Right of his Wife *Constance*, Daughter and Co-heir of *Peter* (who was Sir-nam'd, *the Cruel*) King of *Castile* and *Leon*. With very considerable Forces he sail'd for *Spain*, with the Title of King of it. He landed at the *Groyne*, and at *Compostella* met the King of *Portugal*. And after some Incurfions made into the Country of *Castile*, a Peace and Marriage was alfo effected, between the King of *Spain's* eldeft Son, and *Catharine* of *Lancafter* : And fo he resign'd his Title to *Spain* for a Composition, by a Sum of Money and a Pension.

This look'd like the feeble Policy of violent and Self-intereffed Counfellors, which was apply'd to Men, and not to Things. As if the Removal of Two or Three, that oppos'd their Defigns, took away the Danger that attended them : As long as there were injur'd Men they muft have Enemies, and their Safety was no way probable but by better Principles and Practices. Besides there were

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other

other Lords left behind, made Popular by the same Errors; but they design'd to ruin (if they cou'd) all that were in their way: And after grew very busie in designing to Murther the Duke of *Gloucester*, every day contriving some ill, and by their heavy Wickedness loading the King.

A little after the Rebellion of *Jack Straw*, the King Married with *Ann*, the Daughter of the Emperor *Charles* the Fourth, whom he loved passionately: For whose sake he refus'd the Daughter of the Duke of *Milain*, who was offer'd him, and with her a Dowry much more considerable. She lived with him twelve Years, but without Issue, and died at *Sheen* by *Richmond*; which great loss made the Place ever after hated by the King: Who in all things shew'd he was a Man of great Affections, which are unfortunate Vertues, when wrong plac'd.

About

About this time the King declar'd *Roger Mortimer* his Heir and Successor : Who was the Son of *Lionel Duke of Clarence*, Third Son of King *Edward* the Third, who was afterwards kill'd in *Ireland*. He also Created at several times his Uncles *Edmund of Langley*, Duke of *York*; and *Thomas of Woodstock*, Duke of *Gloucester*; and his Cozen *Henry of Bullingbrook* (Son and Heir to his Second Uncle, *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*) Earl of *Derby*; his Cozen *Edward Plantagenet* (Son and Heir to his Uncle *Edmund of Langley*) he created Earl of *Rutland*; Sir *John Holland* Earl of *Huntingdon*; and *Thomas Mowbray* Earl of *Nottingham*.

In the Parliament, in which these Creations were made, was exhibited a Charge of many Particulars, and of very great Natures, against Chancellor *de la Pool*: In which one Particular was the Abusing and Cozening the King; but this had onely an

Audience, but no Examination. Which gave so much Offence, that an Aid demanded was deny'd ; and Reasons given, That it was to no purpose to give Money, when the ill use of it was countenanc'd. This seem'd a wrong Measure, to ask, and be deny'd ; and at the same time neither to have Power enough to enforce, nor Obligations to obtain. But 'twas not proper for his Favourites to tell him, they doubted Success with his Parliament : Since that were to own, such Apprehensions sprung from their own ambitious Errors. But Princes are rightly said to be us'd like forward Children, flatter'd, and condemn'd never to hear the Truth.

But the Parliament still press'd the Examination of the Charge ; and the necessity of the King's Affairs concurring with their importunity, procur'd what they so warmly desir'd. The Cause was put to selected Noble-men to Examine ; and a Subsidy seem'd the Purchase of it : Which was afterwards granted.

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The Cause then being heard by his Peers, the Duke of *Gloucester*, and Earl of *Arundel* being Two of his Judges, he was convicted and depriv'd of his Office and Chattels, and condemn'd to a Fine and Imprisonment.

He had purchased while he was Chancellor, One Thousand Pounds a Year, which by Judgment of Parliament was confiscated to the King, in satisfaction of Twelve Thousand Pounds, which *Stow* very properly expresses that he had gain'd by lingering the King's Affairs: It seem'd to me a very natural expression, for the Corruption and Oppression of that Court has been managed by Delays; and Justice hard to be obtain'd, is one of the chiefest means to Revenge and Enslave.

But all this seem'd rather Arguments of Merit, than Causes of Punishment: For the King presently after restor'd him into all former

Favour, as if he had suffer'd for his sake. Thus as *Edward* the Second received *Gaveston* from Banishment, and his Subjects Hate, to his Arms and Love, so this unfortunate and resembling King receiv'd this Earl of *Suffolk*, from the Prosecution of his Parliament, to increas'd Affection and Trust: As if Crimes, found out and prosecuted by a Parliament, had been the Testimonies of Merit, and Arguments for the Prince's Favour. These unsteady Counsels increas'd Mistrust in the Subjects: Who now began to see, they were too light to make a Poizure with the Favourites. And, to confirm their worst Apprehensions, the Duke of *Ireland*, who had been driven away by the Displeasure that was contracted against him, now return'd; with equal Credit and Principles with the Earl of *Suffolk*: To whom also join'd the Arch-Bishop of *York*, to strengthen their Power, and weaken their King's. For they that had Influence enough to make a Prince believe their Cause to be his, might easily carry him on to Revenge
those

those Affronts he now assum'd to be his own. To this belongs the same Fate that attends indirect and unsteady Counsels: They must be maintain'd by the Oppression or Ruin of those that suffer'd by them, and no Method taken for the Preservation of any, but theirs that merited the Punishment. The Argument that was, and must be us'd to deceive Princes, was then enforc'd by these Favourite-Ministers, That the Arrows shot at them were intended against the Prince; and 'twas but a Method of Rebellion, to confine a King on whom to confer his Favour. And therefore to avoid the Dishonour of a Limited Monarchy, he must now use Power, and declare his Trust in that onely. With this Flattery they raise their King to a Fatal Confidence in that which must in time deceive misguided Princes. For perhaps, for some time, Apprehension and Conscience may preserve a shew of Peace; yet at last Error and Oppression will disturb such a weak-settled Calm.

The King thus rais'd by Flattery above his Power, and sharpened by false Arguments beyond his Nature, they proceed seemingly to act his Cause, but really to Revenge themselves; and (like the other Favourites in King *Edward's* time) wrap their their Prince's Fall and Hazard with their own: While they are onely the King's Loyal Subjects; and the Kingdom his, and their own guilty Enemies.

The Memory of *Suffolk's* Trial and Condemnation was the first Cause that excited them against those that were his Judges, the Duke of *Gloucester*, and others: On whose Destruction they first resolv'd, as being the most considerable; nor fear'd his near Relation to the King, for they knew their Power was gotten above his Nature, or Consideration. The first Design was to invite *Gloucester*, and others, to a Supper in *London*, and there Murther them: Which some write, was discover'd to the Duke by *Exton*,
the

the then Mayor of *London*, and the Mischief for that time prevented.

About this time the Earls of *Arundel* and *Nottingham*, who were engag'd with the Duke of *Gloucester* in the Trial and Censure of the Chancellor *Suffolk*, commanded the Navy, and perform'd so many brave Actions, that all Mouths were fill'd with just Praises; the King onely excepted, to whom Satisfaction did most belong. For at their Return they found so cold a Reception from the King, that it seem'd they were rather Forgiven for Misdemeanors, than Receiv'd for Merits. The strangeness of his words told too plainly, that public Merit lost its Nature, when the Desert was in the Enemies of his Favourites.

How much more Limited is a King, by such as confine him to their narrow Interest! He must neither reward Vertue, nor punish Vice; his best and bravest Subjects must not be esteem'd, nor his worst question'd or punish'd.

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The Duke of *Ireland*, with as much Arbitrary Power as he perswaded the King to assume, put away his Wife, the King's Cousin, and Grandchild to King *Edward*; and Marry'd a Vintner's, some say, a Joyner's Daughter. The injur'd Lady petition'd the King often, but without Success: Her Injury was done by a Favourite, where his Nature was more ty'd than to his own Blood. Upon no less Nourishment can growing Favourites prosper, than by their Prince's loss of Interest and Honour.

The Duke of *Gloucester* bore it not so calmly, but told the Duke of *Ireland* plainly, he wou'd Revenge the Injury done to his Kinswoman: Who from that time grew more assiduous to contrive the Destruction of the Duke of *Gloucester*. But at the present, his pretended Journey to *Ireland* kept all silent: Which after many Delays he seemingly began, and was accompany'd in great State by the
King

King himself, and Earl of *Suffolk*, and the ready Chief-Justice *Trefilian*.

But this prov'd onely a Progress through *Wales*, and so about to *Nottingham*; where they entred into private and black Consultations.

The first was to destroy the Lords: And for that end Summon'd the Sheriffs of every County, and plainly ask'd them, What Aid they cou'd Promise against the Lords, if the King requir'd it? Their Answers were for the most part, That the People were very much satisfied in their Opinions, That the Lords were Lovers of their King and Countrey: And therefore durst promise nothing in that Matter.

The Trial was then made, to pack Parliament, by contriving Elections as the King shou'd appoint: But this receiv'd as cold a Return.

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To what a loose Hazard they had now reduc'd their King, to attempt unsuccessfully to destroy by force, or in a Legal way to make the Nation destroy itself! The last was without doubt the most dangerous Design: Force may enslave for a little time, but Slavery by Law is likely to be more durable; but the People were not then cozen'd enough. And indeed it must be the concurrence of strange Accidents, the fairness of an undiscover'd Dissimulation, and the Opportunity embrac'd in the same Moment, that must so infatuate the People, as to make their Ruin their Choice.

The last Attempt was design'd by surer Means, the Judges; who kept, and seem'd to deserve their Places for their compliance. Of these were Summon'd the Two Chief-Justices, *Trefilian* and *Belknap*, with others; and to them were put *Queries*, which might comprehend the Safety of the Ministers, and the Danger of all they pleas'd beside.

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The Questions were to comprehend so large a Treason, that it cou'd not miss to find Traitors : For, by them resolv'd, the very Constitution of the Nation was Treason.

The first Four *Queries* concern'd the Duke of *Suffolk* most particularly, and with him all Favourites. For the Case was put, Whether the Law it self, and the Commission for his Tryal, did not derogate from the King's Authority ? And then how they were to be proceeded with that procur'd such a Law ? And how they were to be dealt with that provok'd the King to assent to it ?

The fifth questioned, What they merited that opposed the King's remitting or releasing Penalties, or Debts due to him ?

The Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth, consisted of Questions, Whether Parliaments cou'd proceed upon any Business, but such as the King shou'd

shou'd propose, and Limit by Articles? And whether the Lords and Commons in Parliament, might Accuse any of the King's Officers without his leave?

The Tenth was singly for the Duke of *Suffolk*, Whether the Judgment, given in the last Parliament against him, were Erroneous, and Revocable?

The last Article they resolv'd with as much clearness, *viz.* That the Proceedings and Judgment against the Earl of *Suffolk*, were Erronious and Revocable, and accordingly delivered these bold Opinions under their Hands and Seals.

The Judges were very clear in these Points, for they determin'd all to be Treason, and the Offenders worthy the Death of Traitors: Tho, by this bold Opinion, the Parliament the Traitors, and the Statute-Law the Treason. It seems they believ'd their Obedience in unjust Directions, was a sufficient Excuse for their guilty Actions.

Actions. Otherways they wou'd hardly have made such a Plea at their Tryals for the desperate Judgments they had given : As that they were threaten'd by the Duke of *Ireland*, the Arch-Bishop of *Tork*, and the Earl of *Suffolk* : But tho' they pleaded this Terror for their Excuse, yet, probably the Bribes of Power and Riches were the true Causes of their Corruption ; but 'since that cou'd not appear a proper Excuse, they us'd the other as unjust and frivolous ; since fear from any Cause in the Exercise of Justice is an equal Crime.

There was one thing also very remarkable, that the Lawyers, who, in former Parliaments, gave their Advice and Opinions for their Proceedings, being afterwards, when the Power turn'd to the King, askt, Whether by Law the King cou'd not disannul the Proceedings of that Parliament ? readily Recanting their former Opinions, answer'd, That he might, the King being above the Law : A

Maxime

112 *Reflections upon the Reigns*

Maxime very much us'd in the late Times, and must be always, when *Arbitrary Power* is design'd.

These things perhaps were highly applauded by the Ministers, and the King flatter'd to believe what excellent Servants he had of such Judges; by whose Briskness, not onely the Law, but the troublesome Constitution it self of the Nation, might be render'd as useleſs as *Arbitrary Power* could desire. For if such Laws, that seem'd to Limit a King, shou'd in themselves become void for that very Cause, there cou'd no Law be valid, but such as pleas'd the Sovereign; who was the Judge of his own Infringement: And then all past Laws, and Laws to be made, wou'd become but prostituted Writings, to the Will of Princes.

Perhaps at that time, these Judges had the Character of being most Loyal, for appearing most Desperate; giving that great Testimony of their Devotion, that their Zeal for the Favourites

avourites was far warmer than their Country: And involv'd themselves in their Fortunes by Principles as loud as their Designs.

The King lookt upon the Opinions of these Judges as Authentic, and of Validity enough, to throw Legally into his Power the Estates and Fortunes of those Lords that appear'd most eminent against his Ministers. And accordingly he began to dispose of their Estates among those he favour'd; presuming them, without farther Trial, convicted Persons: And, to maintain this Absurdity by a worse, rais'd Souldiers privately, and sent to surprize the Earl of *Arun-*
del.

The Duke of *Gloucester* having Intelligence of all these Proceedings, got the Bishop of *London* to perswade the King from such Violences; and to assure him, that he never had an undutiful Thought against him. And intimated how much more Safe and Honourable it wou'd be for the King,

114 *Reflections upon the Reigns*

not to be led by false Suggestions to such a fatal Difference and Severity with his best and greatest Subjects.

The Bishop perform'd this with his best skill and zeal, and wrought so upon the King, that he seem'd inclin'd to a more happy Temper. But the Earl of *Suffolk* (that hated all Peace and Justice, by which, he knew, he was to have little benefit, nor could be probably safe longer than while he kept his King in Danger) quickly nip'd the King's budding gentleness: And, like an untimely Frost, blasted the springing hopes of Peace, falling upon the Bishop with harsh and insolent Reproofs. But the Bishop, not daunted with his Power and Greatness, boldly told him, That 'twas not the Service of his Prince that guided him, but his own violent Ambition; and that, rather than the Lords shou'd not be destroy'd, he wou'd involve the Nation in Ruin. Adding, That it was easie for such abject Spirits as his to raise Tumults, which must be
ended

ended by the Ruin of the bravest : Nor was he fit to give Advice, that was the chief Incendiary, and made a Party by his Condemnation. The King was so angry, to see his Favourite so roughly and boldly attack'd, that he commanded the Bishop out of his sight.

In this particular, as in most of this King's unhappy Actions, he appear'd against himself, and his own Reason; being guided by the Earl of *Suffolk* that was of a contrary Interest, turn'd from his own Nature and Reason, by one that wanted Sense and Bowels : And by this Unsteadiness kindled new Mistrusts, the fruitful Nourishers of Civil Mischief.

At this the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Nottingham*, and *Derby*, take Arms. The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and Bishop of *Ely* (then Lord Chancellor) were sent to the Lords : Who compos'd Matters so well, that the Lords agreed to appear before the King at *Westminster*,

ster, under the Promise of Protection. But retaining their usual Jealousies, they receiv'd the Bishop of *Ely's* Assurance, that if there were any Danger design'd them, he wou'd give them Notice. According he kept his Word; and a little before the Lords were to come, he gave them Intelligence of an Ambush, laid for them at the *Mews*, to seize them as they came in. Upon this the Lords fail'd coming: Which the King wondring at, ask'd the Bishop of *Ely*, What might be the Reason of it? Who boldly told him, That the Lords durst not trust him, and had discover'd the Trap laid for them. Of which the King seem'd to be wholly ignorant, and commanded the Sheriffs to search the *Mews*, and to kill, or carry to Prison, all they found concealed there. But the thing was true, tho' the Place mistaken; for the Armed Men were secretly assembled at *Westminster*, by Sir *Richard Bramber*, and Sir *Thomas Trivet*: Who perceiving, or being inform'd of the Discovery, secretly convey'd away their Men.

It

It seem'd as if the King was really ignorant of this, that was acted by the desperate Ministers : Who shew'd a full Confidence in their Power with the King. And tho' perhaps they apprehended the Action too vile to trust the King with it, yet they did not doubt to bring him to approve it, tho' never so base, if successful enough. Nor has this been an unusual Method of powerful Ministers and Favourites, to contrive Mischiefs for their Prince to approve : Knowing that it is easier from the necessity of a Thing done, to gain an Approbation, than a Consent to the Attempt of it. For a Prince that is wholly led by them, and wrap'd up in their desperate Counsels and Interest, may scruple at a thing to be done, that cannot, when 'tis effected : One is but a Difference in Opinion, the other is a Desertion of his Party, he may be free in the first, but too much involv'd to be at liberty in the latter.

A Prince in this Condition has not onely his own Errors, but the weight of theirs, to struggle under : And 'tis impossible he shou'd make any Calculation of his own Fortune, unless he were free to Examine the Effects of those mischievous Planets, that he himself had rais'd to such Pow'rful Influences.

At last, upon new Faith and Security, the Lords came to the King at *Westminster* ; but so strongly guarded, that they did not appear like Men that came to Submit, or to Petition. Accordingly they challeng'd for Traytors, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Arch-Bishop of *York*, the Chief-Justice *Tresilian*, and others. The King at that time, when Favourites cou'd not speak, spoke like himself, a King ; and with equal Temper and Reason, shew'd the Lords, That, if all were true they alledg'd, they had not taken the proper way, to seek for Justice by a shew of Rebellion, and give that Opportunity

portunity to the Licentious Multitude, which perhaps might prove difficult to take again from them. And after having gently laid before them the more proper way for what they desired, he rais'd them from their Knees, and retir'd with them. All this while the Adverse Party kept out of the way, apprehending, as justly they might the Danger of such powerful and enrag'd Enemies.

This Action of the King's is question'd by some Historians, whether done out of Apprehension, or a better Temper. But yet all this while that Things bore this calm Face, the Duke of *Ireland* gather'd Forces; and was met, and overthrown, by the Earl of *Derby*, near *Burford*. But he, that was so bold in Counsel, shew'd want of Courage (when 'twas most needful) in Action, and fled himself, before the Fight scarce began. Among many Things taken of the Duke's, in one of his Trunks were found Letters from the King, to hasten his coming to *London*, with what Power he cou'd

make ; where the King wou'd be ready to share Fortunes with him.

Upon the News of the Duke of *Ireland's* Defeat, the Earl of *Suffolk* fled in a Disguise to *Calice*, and never more return'd.

It is a wonder that such a Man shou'd ever get the Ascendant over a Prince : A Man that was profuse of what he cou'd get , and got it as willingly by the Spoils of others, as by more justifiable ways. He was unfit for Peace by his Turbulent Nature, and wanted Courage to be troublesome in Warr. In Peace he was furious, in War calm ; never quiet but when afraid, at all other times intemperate ; when he was not designing Mischief his Courage fail'd him ; he never seem'd good , but when necessity hinder'd him from appearing bad ; he had no Fits of a Disease, but liv'd in a continu'd Leprosie.

But we have read of other Precedents, how worthless Men have scrud them-

themselves into Prince's Favours, by such Flatteries that Generous Tempers cou'd not creep to. For ill Men study the Nature of Princes, good Men their Interest : And that which is most pleasant sooner prevails , than that which is most useful.

The Chief-Justice *Tresilian* , with others of that Faction, fled from this Storm, and the King retir'd to the *Tower*. While the Lords, with a great Army , march towards *London* , and shew'd themselves in a form of Battel to the King, who lay with his Forces in the Suburbs. The King at first seem'd to slight them, but at last yielded to a Treaty. The *Tower* was the Place appointed ; but the Lords first made what search they pleas'd, and came with such Guards as they thought fit ; at once shewing the severe effects of Mistrust and Power : The first seldom to be cur'd, the last as seldom us'd with Modesty. For when they came to the King, they plainly charg'd him, by way of Accusation, with the Contrivances at *Nottingham*

tingham against them ; his Letters to the Duke of *Ireland* (contrary to his Word) to raise Forces ; the Agreement with the *French* to deliver up *Calice* ; and other Grievances : which the ill Conduct of the King's Ministers had plentifully furnish'd them with. At these Truths, told by those that had Power enough to Revenge, the King, instead of a Defence, sunk into a Confession of his Errors : which seem'd at that time to make a great impression on the Lords, and produc'd the Agreement of a Meeting at *Westminster* the next day.

But they were no sooner gone, but the King's Mind chang'd, by Arguments of the common frame, That by the Meeting he wou'd expose his Person to danger, and his Authority to diminution Which presently chang'd the King, and shew'd as if a Fatal Mutability was to pursue him to his End. To such dangerous Methods he must probably be led, by the Councils of those, whose desperate Ambitions cou'd permit no directness to be us'd
towards

towards their Enemy, the Publick. Such Ministers are the Consulters of Moments; shifting only for a present Preservation, and dare not look towards the future; but refer things to come, to the same Chance that rais'd them. They live to no Rules, but with an unlimited readiness, wait upon Occasion.

This Alteration in the King, rais'd the Lords to such a Rage, that they sent him word, That, if he us'd such Indirectness, they wou'd chuse a New King. At this, being again shaken, he not onely went, but submitted to those he had so inrag'd before; and delivers up that Power, which he was counsell'd before not to diminish: So that his ill-timed Counsels made that Misfortune sure, which they seem'd careful to prevent.

A Parliament was presently call'd, which began at *Westminster* the Third of *February*; and continu'd to the Thirteenth of *June*; a long Session, and yet seem'd to have Employment enough, for in a less space of time, so much

much cou'd hardly have been done, as to give it the Character of a Parliament that wrought Wonders.

The first day of their Meeting, many of the Judges were Arrested, as they sat in their Places, and sent to the *Tower*; as if no business were fit to be proceeded on, till Justice were done on the Violaters of Justice.

In the beginning also of this Parliament were Summon'd *Robert Vere*, Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevil* Arch-Bishop of *York*, *Michael de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Sir Robert Tresilian* Lord Chief Justice of *England*, and *Nicholas Brember* Lord Mayor of *London*. This *Brember* was often made Mayor by the King, against the Rights and Priviledges of the City: Being found a fit and proper Instrument, to act in all Illegal and Arbitrary ways; sacrificing the Lives and Estates of many considerable Men to the King's inclination and designs, and omitted no severity that cou'd be practis'd against the Freedom and Priviledges of the City. One of the Rewards

wards he aim'd at for his Villanies was, to be Duke of *Troy*, the ancient Name, as some write, of that City. Not unjustly supposing, that the most horrid and guilty Practices, were the best Pleaders in such a Government, for the obtaining Honour and Interest.

These were all Summoned to answer to Articles of Treason, exhibited against them by the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Earls of *Arundel*, *Derby*, and *Nottingham*. But not appearing, the Parliament condemn'd them to perpetual Imprisonment, and all their Estates to be forfeited.

But *Tresilian* the Chief-Justice staid, and rather trusted to the Disguise of a poor Habit, and a long Beard, and conceal'd himself in an Apothecary's House in *Westminster*, but being betray'd by a Servant of his own, he was taken upon the Seventeenth day of *February*, and brought before the Parliament about Eleven of the Clock, and the same Day in the Afternoon, was drawn from the *Tower of London* to *Tyburn*, and there, as *Stow* says,
his

his Throat was cut ; an Execution that seems very strange, unless it was so order'd that he shou'd die the resembling Death of a Beast.

The next Day *Brember* was executed, and receiv'd a more just Reward than he design'd himself, for all his Villanies ; and yet neither his, nor *Trefilian's* miserable end, could deter others, in our late Times, from being wretched Copies of such miserable Originals.

After this Success of the Lords, every thing was, as it were, to take a new Birth ; and accordingly the King renewed his Coronation-Oath, and the Lords swore Homage and Fealty to him, as if he then began to be a King, and they to be Subjects. Their former Conditions being rather Tyrant and Slave, than King and People ; such Disturbances in a Nation resemble Storms at Sea, where Parties, like Waves, pursue and dash out one another, and are equally violent deaf to Mercy.

Within

Within little more than a Year after this, the King grew to be One and Twenty ; and upon that took an occasion , when all things seem'd a little compos'd, to assume a full Power. I cannot but here remember the Character the Impartial and Judicious *Mezeray* gives *Lewis* the Eleventh, upon his Entrance on the Throne, That he was the greatest Enemy to his own and Kingdom's Quiet : One that lov'd his own irregular Fancies more than the wise Laws , and thought the greatest Grandeur in the greatest Oppression, pulling down Great Ones to raise up the Meanest from nothing. This, he says, another calls putting their Kings *Hors de Page* ; that is, out of their Minority : He shou'd have said, putting them out of their Sense and Reason.

No question the Ministers were ready to welcome him to that which they call'd, the Exercise of his Power, when it was rather to the Execution of theirs. The first Practice of it was taking the Great Seal from the
Bishop

Bishop of *Ely* (as if remembring his former Carriage) and gave it to *Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*. And displac'd many others; as if by that he seem'd to take Seizin of his new Power: Suspending also *Gloucester* and *Warwick* from the Privy Council.

The Tyde was now turn'd to the King, who began to return to follow those Advices, that had brought him so much hazard before: And that Interest and Opinion, which the *French* had wrought themselves into, appear'd in all things to increase. The Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, had formerly temper'd the King with their calm and sure Reasons: When, being enrag'd against the Lords, he swore, He wou'd more willingly submit and rely on the Protection of *France*, than thus to be made servile to those he ought to Command.

'Tis not unworthy of an Observation, how frequently the *French* have been prevalent in *England*: And always in such Prince's Times as have given

given so much Power to Ministers and Favourites, as made them considerable enough to be corrupted.

Philip de Comines says, That in his time the King's of *England's* Ministers, and great Persons, had Pensions from *France*, and gave their Acquittances upon every Receipt; which were to be seen in the Chamber of *Paris*. *Hastings*, the Lord Chamberlain, was the onely great Person, that was hardly perswaded to become a Pensioner of *France*, and that refus'd to give an Acquittance for what he receiv'd. The same Historian says, That he was the onely Man that perswaded him to it, and had first perswaded him to be so to *Charles Duke of Burgundy*. And when *Cleret* was sent by King *Lewis*, with a Present of 2000 Crowns, and desir'd his Acquittance for his Discharge, as he had receiv'd it from the Chancellor, and the Admiral. He answer'd, The Gift proceeded from his Master's Liberality, not his Request; if he desir'd he shou'd receive it, he might put it in his Sleeve, other Testimonial he shou'd get none of him: For he

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130 *Reflections upon the Reigns*

wou'd not that any shou'd say, That the Lord Chamberlain was Pensioner to the *French*; nor that his Acquittance shou'd be found in the Chamber of Accounts. The King of *France* was angry with *Cleret* for bringing no Acquittance; but ever after preferr'd the Lord Chamberlain in his Esteem, before all the King of *England's* other Servants.

I cannot discern much Reason for it: There seems little Difference to me between one that is carelessly, and another that is cautiously dishonest; and those Ministers equally forgot the Interest of *England* for their own, to let them share in our Affairs and Counsels. The People always judg'd right in this, and Parliaments (as *Comings* observes) were never corrupted in themselves or Judgments, and always perceiv'd the Dissimulation of the *French*. And in another place he says, They were always willing to grant Aids against *France*: For they cou'd not be deceiv'd by Demonstration: Which shew'd the difference in our Methods and Constitution from theirs.

Our

Our Laws are fuitable to our Interest, and our Interest secur'd by our Laws: Our Fashions, and Manner of Expences, shou'd be applicable to the Consumption of our own Productions. The *French* differ from the first, and their Fancies are the onely Measures of the last: They are not capable to live after the Methods of our Interest, but we may quit ours to assist theirs. *France* can be but of little use to us, but we may be too much to them: They may receive, but can bring no Advantage. They have reason then to be always active, to keep an Interest here by private means, since'twere vain to hope it by public ones: And Cardinal *Richelieu* well understood these Truths, when he call'd *England* their *Indies*.

About this time *Guido* Earl of *St. Paul* was sent, by *Charles* the *French* King, to Visit and Complement King *Richard*, and his Queen. The Earl, according to the ready confidence of the *French*, presently became a Counsellor. For once the King discoursing with him, he complain'd of the Duke

of *Gloucester*; and in particular, that he did passionately endeavour to disturb the Peace between *England* and *France*. The Earl presently gave Sentence against the Duke, and told the King plainly, He was not fit to live: For when a Subject was grown so great, a Prince was no longer safe; and if he meant to secure himself against Danger, the surest way was to destroy those from whence it might so easily come.

This Advice blew the King's Anger into a Flame, and he began to express to some of his Great Men his Displeasure against the Duke of *Gloucester*. But he found in them all a high Opinion of the Duke's Honour and Virtue: So that the King began to calm again; and shew'd as if Cruelty had not its full Spring from his Nature, but swell'd as it was nourish'd by the Streams of other Counsels.

For after this he was again rais'd, by the Advices of the Earls *Huntingdon* and *Nottingham*, to contrive the Destruction of the Duke of *Gloucester*:
And

And commonly as the Advice of ill Men tend to the worst things, so generally they suggest the worst way of doing them.

The Duke of *Gloucester* was then at his House at *Plashy* in *Essex*, whether the K. upon a sudden arriv'd; and as the Duke waited upon the King to bring him going, he was seiz'd by a Company of Arm'd Men, laid secretly for him; and so hurry'd blindfold to the *Thames*, and in a Vessel ready prepar'd, carry'd to *Calice*, and there shortly after strangled: Either thought too Great and Popular, or not Guilty enough to be brought to a Public Trial. And as the wicked Advisers perswaded his Taking by the breach of Hospitality, the basest way of Treachery, so they continu'd in the peculiar Methods of Mischief, to contrive his Death by the most hated way of private Murder.

Within a day or two after, the King invited the Earl of *Warwick* to Dinner, and in the midst of all shews of kindness, sent him to Prison; and also the Earl of *Arundel*, and his Son;

But, to prevent all Discontents and Commotions in the People, he publicly declared, That they were not Apprehended upon any former Displeasure ; but for new Crimes which shou'd be charg'd upon them.

The King then call'd a Parliament at *Westminster*, which began about the middle of *September* ; the Sessions was open'd, as also the Design of it, by *Edward Stafford* Bishop of *Exeter*, and Lord Chancellor ; who, in a mingled Speech and Sermon, plainly declar'd, That the Power of the King was Absolute and Perfect, and those that by any ways endeavoured to lessen, or deny it, were worthy to suffer by that Law, that was solely in his Power : And to make good these Opinions, by the onely Arguments that were proper to support them, the King had Assembled a Guard of *Cheshire-Men*, that were most eminent for the loosest Lives ; and also drew up about the Parliament 4000 Archers, with Bows ready bent, to Confirm the Chancellor's Declaration, that he designed his Power shou'd appear above the Law.

And,

And, that every thing might be suitable to carry on the work, there appear'd new Ministers to manage in the House of Commons, of Reputations as black as their Designs, Sir *John Bushy*, Sir *John Bagot*, and Sir *Henry Green*. Sir *John Bushy* was made Speaker. These Men were equally infamous, and assiduous in corrupting, some by fears, others by benefits; so that the Charters of Pardons, formerly granted, after the great Parliament, were revok'd, and made void: And, to make good the Chancellor's Declaration, they Voted, *That any One that shou'd be Convicted of opposing the King's Power and Regality, shou'd suffer as a Traitor.*

Thus the Power of Guards and Archers so prevail'd upon the terrified House of Commons, that they undid all that the Great Parliament had done, made those the best Subjects that were then condemn'd for Traitors: and condemn'd those that appear'd chiefly in it. And, tho' the Earl of *Nottingham*, to whose Custody the Duke of

Gloucester was committed, gave an Account that he was dead, (that is, was murder'd) yet the fawning Zeal was so great, that he must notwithstanding, have the same Sentence pronounc'd against him, as the Earl of *Arundel* receiv'd upon his Tryal, who was Beheaded after it. As if by their servile Flattery, they seem'd to express a Trouble, that the Duke's Murther, prevented their designed Satisfaction to murder him.

The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who, among others, was Impeacht for Treason by Sir *John Busby* their Speaker, in the Name of the House of Commons, was Banisht. And it was at last ordain'd, *That the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, shou'd take their Oaths, That they wou'd strictly observe all things, that had been Enacted by this Parliament*: And the Prelates were to Thunder out their Sentences against any that dissented from them.

The Earl of *Warwick* was then Arraign'd, but he shew'd not the Noble and clear Spirit of the Earl of *Arundel*,
who

who in the midst of his Tryal, gave the Earl of *Derby* the Lye, (when he charg'd him with Words spoken to him) and despis'd to try any way to save his Life, but his own Innocency. But, on the contrary, the Earl of *Warwick* us'd nothing but a trembling and fearful Submission; throwing himself upon the King's Mercy; and by that meaner way, obtain'd to save his Life, but with it also, the more cruel Sentence of perpetual Imprisonment.

The Designs of Arbitrary Power seem'd now to have a prosperous effect; And might probably raise a Confidence in the King, that he was in the full Possession of Mens Lives and Fortunes; seeing what hast they made to meet their own Slavery; and, no question the Experiment, that Terror cou'd so far prevail on the Minds of Men, and the cruel success of Force and Violence, furnisht those new upstart Ministers, with Arguments sufficient, to confirm in the King's easie mind, the Treacherous Opinion, that he was more safe by Cruelty than gentle means; and far better secur'd by fear,
than

than love. Nor are other Counsels to be expected from such Men, equally low and mean in their Minds and Extractions; made greedy from Poverty, and ambitious from Pride. Neither by their Minds or Fortunes indued with Principles. Power was their Justice, Violence their Prudence, and Opportunity their Providence.

The King was now fully possess'd with the Opinion, That he was in a Condition to dispose, as he pleas'd, of those that durst dislike his Actions, and that his Will might now become the Law. But the present prospect of Things commonly deceives those that are willing only to believe the Whispers of their own inclinations: And because they see nothing at the present springing up, they forget that the Roots grow undiscern'd. And, no question, the King in that conjuncture of Time, thought every Cloud dispers'd: And pursu'd all those Fatal ways, that mistaken Flattery cou'd guide him in.

But a particular Accident made way

way for a General Revolution ; some write, that the Duke of *Hereford* accus'd the Duke of *Norfolk* of words spoken to the Dishonour of the King ; but I am rather inclined to believe with others, considering also the circumstances of those great Men, in relation to the Court, that it was the Duke of *Hereford*, who one day discoursing with the Duke of *Norfolk*, complain'd how much the King was misguided by mean and base Counsellors ; such as sought their own private Interest, and not the public Good ; and fear'd that the King following such Counsels, wou'd so lose the Hearts of his People, that it might prove dangerous to him : Assuring him that no private Displeasure urg'd him to say this, but meerly his Love to his King and Country ; and therefore desired the Duke, being one of the King's Cabinet-Council, to lay these Things before him, which might prove of ill consequence if continu'd. The Duke of *Norfolk* seem'd not to dislike what had been said ; but so represented it to the King, that he turn'd it rather to an Accusation, than a Counsel. The King, that cou'd not endure

endure to hear unpleasant Truths, and at that Instant looking upon himself as above the mean Consideration of Public Notions, so resented the Boldness of the Duke of *Hereford*, that he summon'd him to answer this (that now became his Charge) before the Council, Where the Duke of *Norfolk* confirm'd his Information, which was deny'd by the Duke of *Hereford*, owning all that he had said. But the Duke of *Norfolk* maintaining the Accusation, the Combat was demanded, and consented to, and the Day appointed by the King. At which time both the Dukes appear'd arm'd, and being just ready to ingage, they were stop'd by the King, and Banishment pronounc'd against them both. The Duke of *Norfolk* dy'd suddenly after at *Venice*; having enjoy'd no great benefit by those Violences he so precipitately engag'd in.

A little after dyed *John* of *Gaunt*, Father to the Duke of *Hereford*, and fourth Son of *Edward* the Third: After whose Death the Dutchy of *Lancaster* fell to this Duke, being his eldest Son.

Son. But the King, in his deceiv'd Opinion of Power and Security, acted by the most probable means to shake both; seizing all the Duke's new-descended Estate into his own hands, and endeavour'd to make his Banishment perpetual: Revoking all his Letters Patents, to prevent the suing out the Livery for those Lands, during his Banishment.

If this be well consider'd, 'tis improbable a King shou'd do it purely from his own Advice. First, he enrag'd a Person, that cou'd onely be a considerable Enemy: His Popularity gave him an Interest in Power, and his Descent from a King the Pretence to use it. This cou'd be no motive from right Reason, to urge the King to do such an imprudent Injustice; he was above the Temptation of a private Estate, but his Ministers were tempted by it, following the usual Methods of their Counsels by no Considerations, but Revenge and Interest: As if their Safeties were grounded upon nothing so much as their Prince's Hazard, and their Advantages upon his Prejudice.

As

As the Testimony of the prevalency of these Counsellors, the King left all Business to them ; and gave himself up wholly to Sloath and Pleasure. The *Imitation* spread into Effeminacy and Luxury ; and the King thought it was the Testimony of Arbitrary Power, to live uncontroul'd in such a loose Condition. All Power, but this shadow of it, was exercis'd by his Ministers, who now depress'd all Persons of either Courage or Honour. A valiant Man was counted dangerous, and a wise Man mutinous : And every one was made perceive, that 'twas easier to prosper by following their Prince's Humor, than to pursue his Interest and Honour.

The Ministers being grown into Absolute Power, thought of nothing but how to satisfy their greedy Ambitions, they pretended to get all for the King, the sure way to convey it to themselves. And indeed his Gifts were so large to them, that they brought him into more Wants, than ever the Wars of his brave Ancestors cou'd reduce them to, and us'd more unjust Invention

ons to supply his private use, than they needed Public Assistances, to support the Interest and Honour of it. But *Edward* the First, and *Edward* the Third, had a less Burthen and Charge to support, they had a Kingdom and no Favourites: The First was not capable to satisfy the later. For at this time, without any Public Occasion, strange ways were us'd to levy Money: Commissioners were sent to all the Sheriffs and Corporations, declaring the King's high Displeasure for the kindness they testify'd to the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arun-*
del and *Warwick*: And for this Affection shew'd to the King's Enemies, his Pardon was to be obtain'd by heavy Fines, or rather Taxes laid upon them. The Commons were bound by new-invented Oaths, to perform what they ingag'd to, and blank Charters seal'd and deliver'd to the King's Use, whereby their Liberty might be as well taken away, as their Properties had been.

By such Counsels as these, the Subjects were turn'd to Slaves, and made
Waiters

Waiters upon any Opportunities to shake off their Fetters; the King made believe he Govern'd most, when he had none to Govern. For Slaves are not in the Business of Mankind; their Thoughts are only fix'd upon Revenge and Freedom, and, like distempered Men, seldom return to their former Composure.

The first occasion that prov'd this true, was a Rebellion that broke out in *Ireland*; the Opportunity of which Diversion favour'd the Earl of *Northumberland* to gather Forces in the *North*. And others of the Nobility and People, weary of their Oppressions, resolv'd in the King's Absence to attempt some Relief: And fix'd upon the Duke of *Hereford*, as the proper Instrument to act by. His Banishment, that the King design'd to make perpetual, was the Cause of that Mischief, which he believ'd he shou'd prevent by it. He now became the Center to which all other Discontents tended; to whom now resorted many of his former Friends, and others whom Oppression now made so.

Among

Among these the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* was the Chief: Who, in a Speech to the Duke of *Hereford*, laid open their Grievances and Degrees: Summing up all the Mischiefs and Misfortunes of an unsteady Government, the Contempt it spread abroad, and Oppression at home; not Slaves to their Prince, but to his Favourites; and that Peace under their Extortions was more chargable than War; the Expence of their Riots and Ambitions needed more Projects and Taxes to maintain them, than the Defence and Support of the Government it self required; by their Cruelties most of the Nobility were destroy'd, and the Commonalty wasted: Concluding with imploring the Duke to pity the Oppression of his Country, and to animate those, that were ready to redeem themselves from Slavery, by his Valour and Conduct.

The Duke of *Lancaster* needed not the force of Eloquence to perswade him. The loss of his Uncle, his Banishment, the Imprisonment of his

L Chil-

Children, and the loss of his Estate, were powerful Exciters enough, to lay hold on any opportunity to Revenge all his Wrongs. To all which was added the perſwaſive Temptation of a Crown : And ſure there cou'd be no more powerful Motives, than by one way at once to ſatisfie both his Ambition and Revenge.

Theſe Conſiderations, and the dependency on the Peoples Affections to a Change (being wearied with Oppreſſion) made him venture to Land with a very ſmall Force in *Yorkſhire*. At firſt he gave out, That he came only to recover his Inheritance, and quickly found his utmoſt expectation answer'd : Many of the Nobility came in to him, and his ſmall Troop preſently increas'd to an Army ; and the Multitudes that in all Places appear'd in his Cauſe, ſhew'd what Foundations a Tyrant laid for his own Ruin ; by depending on little Accidents, that gave him opportunity to uſe an unjuſt and ſhort-liv'd Power.

The

The Duke finding every thing more successful than almost he could hope, pursued that Fortune which so prosperously invited him, and hastened with his still-increasing Forces to *London* : Where he found a Reception suitable to the usual Joy that discontented People shew in Alterations. He was received in Triumph without Victory ; and with all the Testimonies of Zeal and Duty , which flattering Crouds could pay their Lawful Sovereign. Pageants and rich Presents entertain'd him , and all the extravagant Praises that could be invented ; and as many contumelious Reproaches on their late King. All Testimonies of Allegiance seem'd lost , the modest Mask was taken off ; and War proclaim'd against King *Richard* , and his Adherents.

The Duke of *York* , in the mean time, tried to raise Forces, but found a general Resolution in all People, not to be Enemies to the Duke of *Lancaster*. The Favourites that were active and bold in Prosperity , shew'd

that neither their Skill nor their Duty was to struggle with Difficulties. Nor had they either Interest or Reputation, if they had attempted it; they were always a dead Weight upon their Prince, and, like the Nature of it, hung heaviest upon weak Conditions. *Busby* and *Green* were pursu'd to *Bristol*, and there taken, a Fatal Place to hasty Favourites, they were eagerly pursu'd by the flattering Fury of the People: And perhaps there were some among them, that before, in the Prosperity of these Favourites, had made as passionate Professions of a contrary Devotion. *Bagot* escap'd into *Ireland*, and sav'd himself from the present Execution, the Lord *Scroop* (Lord Treasurer) with *Busby* and *Green*, that were taken, lost their Heads.

King *Richard* was at this time in *Ireland*; where the News came to him of the Duke's Landing in *England*, and his successful Proceedings. The News increas'd by coming, and every Circumstance grew enlarg'd: So that it appear'd the blackest, and most
por-

portentous Storm that ever gather'd in
the full Sun-shine of a Prince ; which
his Favourites assur'd him cou'd be sub-
ject to no Eclipse.

The contrary appear'd to this un-
fortunate King ; who was then in-
gag'd in Troubles in *Ireland*. After
some time he prepar'd for *England* ;
having first Imprison'd the Sons of
the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Gloucester*
in *Trim-Castle* , and took with him
the Dukes of *Surrey*, *Aumarl*, and *Exe-*
ter, and the Bishops of *London*, *Lin-*
coln, and *Carlisle*.

The Earl of *Salisbury* was sent be-
fore to raise an Army, which he did
in *Cornwall* : But the King failing to
come within the time he promis'd ,
they all discourag'd, went home. This
Delay was attributed to the Counsel of
the Duke of *Aumarl* ; who perhaps had
more mind to see things determin'd by
the Fortune of others, than by hazar-
ding his own.

After this the King Lands in *Wales*; where he found the Stream turning from him, and every Place of Strength submitting to the Duke of *Lancaster*. He knew not what course to steer, but wander'd to *Conway-Castle*; where the Earl of *Worcester*, Steward of the Kings Houshold (as if finding a fitting time to remember the Proclaiming his Brother, the Earl of *Northumberland*, Traitor) broke his Staff of Office openly in the Hall, before the King's Servants: And with Advice to them to be as base as himself, went avowedly to the Duke. The rest follow'd his Example; and those, that once seem'd to be the most eagerly Loyal, became now the most violently Rebellious. And 'tis improbable that those who with unlimited Flattery, for their own Interest and Ambition, had perswaded their Prince into the dangerous Attempt of Absolute Power, shou'd in any Turn of Fortune, or Shock of Danger, retain any limited Principles. The true Interest of a Prince includes the Interest of others, but the Interest of private Men excludes

cludes a Prince's. We have heard, 'tis true, of some that have been successful in such unjust and dangerous Attempts: But the Examples have been very few, that have not been Fatal at last. And there are so many of the contrary, that the Comparison wou'd convince any, that the just Limits within a Nation's Constitution, are much more Safe, as well as Glorious.

King *Richard* had now Cause to make such sad Reflections, and by the Want of Power instructed to lament the attempting too much. He saw himself forsaken by those, whom he shou'd have forsook before: He now felt severely the want of that Trust and Confidence that he had destroy'd, and seem'd not forsaken of his People, but to have forsook them before. He had forc'd them all to be in the nature of Traitors, and compell'd them to purchase, as it were, the Name of Subjects: While there were none that seem'd so to him, but those that needed Pardon the most: Such as had counsell'd

him to the Ruin that now fell upon him.

He had been so long accusom'd to follow the Counsel of others, that he knew not the way to use his own; and had too long pursu'd the mean and easie ways of Indirectness: Virtuous and steady Actions in the undisturb'd part of Life, give Power in Extremity; and the Memory of what was Great and Good, gives Boldness to such a Mind to claim Success in the worst Condition: But the Memory of Injuries and Injustice done to others, shake Hopes and Expectations in a dangerous Estate. This he shew'd, by discharging his Army, rather than bravely using them: As if he believ'd it impossible to recover Power now, since he had us'd it so ill before.

The next thing that seem'd best, was, to have retir'd till a better Occasion was offer'd. For nothing is more various or violent than the Stream of Mens Minds; with greediness affecting Change, and hurried by Expectations

tions (that are seldom answer'd) to be eas'd from all former Grievances and Oppression: And every one that assisted in the Alteration, looks upon himself as a particular Object for Reward. Never considering that new-gotten Power needs more to secure it, than the Ease of the People will allow: And, when deceiv'd in that, they begin to stagger; and, at last, grow to repent the Blood and Money the expenceful Change had cost, and are ready upon any Occasion to Revenge their mistaken Errors. And perhaps K. *Richard* might have hop'd as much in some time, as the Duke of *Lancaster* then found.

But there were some, who probably had before appear'd most violently Loyal, who now advis'd their still-abus'd King to the last and worst way, and sacrific'd him for their own Peace: Telling him perhaps, That unfortunate Prince's seldom found Protection abroad, but were kept only as a Composition with their successful Enemies: And tho' he had so near a Relation to the King of *France*, yet Tyes by Marriage

riage were no Obstacle to their Use of Interest, but rather a Shelter for the most unsuspected Designs. And he wou'd accordingly find that he wou'd be the Sacrifice of new Alliances; and then 'twou'd be too late to expect such Conditions from the Duke of *Lancaster*, which probably he might now hope for.

These false Reasons were perhaps us'd to him, by such, as cou'd not at a less Rate reconcile themselves to the Duke of *Lancaster*, than by their betraying their Master into his hands. For nothing cou'd be more improbable than that he, who had the Power, shou'd by Conditions preserve him who had the Right to it, while neither was capable to trust the other's Mercy. Yet this vain Counsel was follow'd; and, as if to improve it by Intelligence with the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Earl of *Northumberland* was sent to the King, to assure him, That the Duke wou'd pay him all humble Obedience: And onely desir'd a Parliament shou'd be call'd at *Westminster*; to settle the shaken Affairs of the Nation.

The

The King must then perceive how he was forsaken, by those who before had so much flatter'd him with their excessive Love and Loyalty. And it seem'd a just Instruction, to suspect the violent Professions of any that have no Restraint by Principles in a fortunate Condition. They that want Vertue, and profess Love, shou'd rather cause suspicion than belief, especially when 'tis address'd where Power and Interest may invite it. But the love of Absolute Greatness in Opinion, more than real and true Greatness in itself, has hindred Princes from seeing the Defects and Designs of mean and interess'd Flatterers : Such as believe their Prince has never Power enough, unless it appears by the Oppression of others, and (like those in this unhappy King's time) fall from their Professions as he declin'd in Power. But I have read of some (tho' but a few) who governed themselves by Principles in their Prince's Prosperity, and (guided by the same Vertue) have not forsaken him in his Adversity.

The

The King in some measure, yet made a right Reflection on his Condition: For he thought 'twas in vain to hope that the Conquerour wou'd restore him the Power he had gotten, and therefore onely, to the Earl of *Northumberland*, propos'd for himself a retir'd and quiet Condition. But he was as much mistaken to hope that, as he guess'd right not to expect the other. But when the Duke met the King at *Flint-Castle*, he seem'd to pay him all Reverence due to a King; and told him that he onely acted what he had done, for the Reformation of the Government, and for the Recovery of his Estate and Possessions. But this was only a modest Formality, that ambitious Men use in obtaining, and seldom perform when they have obtain'd: For such Modesty is laid aside by Success, and Justice grows useless when Power is fully possess'd, For after that the King was secur'd, and, in the Condition of a Prisoner, carry'd to *London*: Yet in his Name a Parliament was presently call'd.

The

The King now found the unhappy Truth, that usually Mens Professions are but the product of their present Conditions, not of their Intentions : And perhaps in a low Estate they may wish and desire within modest Limits, but the Violence of overwhelming Power, breaking over the former Bounds, overthrow all mean and level Thoughts. Perhaps the King might now make such severe Reflection on his past Actions, seldom regarding his Professions, when he had power or opportunity to violate them. He cou'd not but be press'd with the Memory of his unhospitable Treachery to the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Earl of *Warwick* : And must, with detestation, remember those Counsellors of Falseness and Indirectness, which once destroy'd his Happiness, and now aggravated his Misery. He saw their Violent and Loyal Flatteries were meant for their own Interest, not for his ; and that such mean Things, like other Insects, live with a little warmth, but shrink at any change of Weather.

The

The Duke of *York*, that was entrusted with the Government during King *Richard's* Absence in *Ireland*, was become the Duke of *Lancaster's* chief Adviser of the Methods he was now to take, which were as violent as his forgotten Duty requir'd, to make his new Loyalty acceptable. In the first place he advis'd that King *Richard* shou'd be press'd to a voluntary Resignation, and also to be solemnly Depos'd. This Advice was pursu'd, and the King seem'd as ready to yield to it, as the Duke ambitiously desir'd it. The Form of the Resignation was then contriv'd to be perform'd the Day before the Parliament was to meet : And yet that Parliament was to sit, tho' the King was to be no longer a King, in whose Name it was call'd. And certainly if there cou'd be Virtue in the Resignation, the Dissolution of the Parliament must have been the Consequence, for that which was call'd by a Power cou'd not continue when there was a Demise of that Power. But no Blot was to be seen or hit, the hasty and flattering Zeal, that was
to

to be shewn to the Duke of *Lancaster*, pursu'd its violent Course thro' all the Obstacles of Law and Justice.

Among those that were Commission'd to receive his Resignation, there were Lords, Clergy-men, and Lawyers: The two Chief-Justices *Thirninge* and *Markham* were in the Number. And in the Reigns of these two unfortunate Princes, there wanted not Spiritual and Temporal Gown-men, that contributed to all their Errors in their Fortunate Conditions, and in their Adversities transplanted their Zeal into the new Sun-shine.

These Commissioners being formally assembled in the *Tower*, King *Richard* was brought out in all the Kingly Ornaments, that he might have some Ensigns of Glory to resign formally. In this Condition he was plac'd in a Chair of State: And in this last Moment of his Royalty appear'd most like a King. All that was now done, was certainly from himself, and shew'd in this Extremity Vertue enough to make it evident,
he

he might have been an excellent Prince, had his Ministers not Reign'd more than he. For he shew'd no Disorder in this great and almost unpresidented Action of his Life : And *Stow* relates, that when the Rabble drew up to revenge the Death of *Wat Tyler*, the King shew'd both Wisdom and Courage ; he now neither seem'd to force a Resolution to endure, nor affect a Temper to submit, but as if both had naturally sprung from the Choice of a retir'd Condition. With this calmness in all this Storm of Fortune he spoke to the Commissioners : Beginning with the acknowledging those Errours that his Youth made ill Counsellors capable to imprint in him, and seem'd only troubled that he had not Time allow'd to repair those Injuries he had done the Nation ; knowing now, from a clear sight that he was both willing and capable to have perform'd so happy an Action ; he now perceiv'd his own Vertues, when the Vices of others cou'd no longer hide them ; and he that once cou'd have been so easily perswaded that he was shot at thro' his wounded Ministers,
now

now saw that 'twas from them he receiv'd his Wounds. He concluded with the Choice of losing a Kingdom, rather then engage it in Blood and Confusion: Desiring onely to enjoy that Peace, which he merited in preserving it for others; and was as willing to resign his Crown to the Duke of *Lancaster*, as he perceiv'd they were willing to receive it from him.

After this he read the Instrument that was prepar'd, and made two Bishops his Attorneys, to declare that his Resignation in Parliament. Which was done the *Munday* after, and accepted of by the Lords and Commons. But yet this was not thought enough, but a heavy Charge, in many Articles, was exhibited against him.

The Articles are from my purpose, and too long to set down: But whoever reads them in the Rolls, will find them of much weight, and as shrewdly compos'd, as the nature of the thing cou'd either bear or require; there was not an Injustice or Error omitted. The chiefest thing contain'd were those

M Actions,

Actions, by which his Favourites thought to secure themselves, by sub-
jecting all Judges and Sheriffs to his
Will, thereby to bring within his
Power Parliaments and Law, and
make way to Levy Taxes as he pleas'd.
And it was a particular Article that he
should say and declare, *That all Law*
lay in his Head and Breast.

These are the Extremities that pro-
ceed from the Counsels of such Men,
who have made themselves incapable
to share or trust in common Good.
Who, knowing how little they could
expect from the uninterrupted Me-
thods of Law and Justice, seek to pre-
serve themselves by the Destruction
of that which threatned them. And
'twere impossible that Princes shou'd
involve their own, in the desperate
Interest of others, were they not first
blinded from discerning the Ambition
of those that hide it under the fierce
Zeal for their Absolute Power.

The Articles (which were Twen-
ty-nine) were own'd by the Lords and
Commons to be so notorious, that
they

they needed no farther Examination or Proof ; and join'd with the Consent of the King , on whom they were charged, it was judg'd sufficient for the Deposing King *Richard* , and the Duke of *Lancaster* then claiming the Crown, by a false and far-fetch'd Title from *Henry* the Third, to patch up the seeming Justice of such an Action.

This Title was drawn from *Edmund* Sir-nam'd *Crook-Back* , eldest Son of *Henry* the Third ; and that, for his Deformity, he was put by the Succession, and the Crown given to *Edward* the First : And the Duke of *Lancaster* was next of Blood , by the Mother's-side, to this *Edmund*. But this *Edmund* was third Son of *Henry*, and not deform'd at all, but a brave Man in Person and Mind. But the next Heir then to the Crown was *Edmund* Earl of *March* , Son to *Roger*, who was formerly slain in *Ireland* : Who, seeing the Stream so violent against King *Richard*, wisely retired, and lived with all imaginable Care and Prudence.

But the Parliament did not seem to proceed upon this pretended Title, to set the Crown upon the Duke of *Lancaster's* Head ; but by way of Election : For after the Arch-Bishop had finish'd his Sermon , he mov'd them to proceed to the Election of a new King ; and perceiving they were prepar'd for it, he demanded of them whom they wou'd chuse for their King. First he propos'd the Duke of *Tork* ; but they answer'd, *No.* Then the eldest Son of the Duke of *Aumarl* ; to which also they answer'd, *No.* Then he propos'd his youngest Son ; to which they made the same Answer, and also divers others, which they refus'd. Then pausing a little, askt if they wou'd have the Duke of *Lancaster* for their King ; to which, they gave an unanimous Consent. The Question was thrice put , and every time consented to. Then the Arch-Bishop went to the Duke , and fell upon his Knees , declaring to him, That he was chosen King : The Duke also kneel'd down, and declar'd his Consent to accept the Crown.

This

This Ceremony seems to shew that Right which can never be separated from the People (of which I have discours'd in the Preface). And the weight of this Nation, when ever thoroughly oppress'd, will weigh down the Designers of it ; which has been in many unexpected Revolutions, when they are reduc'd to such an Extremity, that the naming a Right to Liberty and Property, is charg'd as an Intention of Rebellion. The Prince's *Will* must then be the Law, and his Religion the Devotion of all Loyal Subjects. Then those that have the least Principle declare for the greatest Loyalty, and by a seeming Zeal and Duty, pursue Interest and Ambition. And tho' the search for Absolute Power is made by secret Reserves, publick and false Professions, corrupting some, and terrifying others ; and upon specious Pretences, displacing such as appear either suspecting the Designs, or not as passionate as the rest in promoting them ; Yet when the Power is obtain'd, and secur'd, as the King was told his was, when all Subjects lost their Names, and, like guilty Slaves, sign'd Blanks,

166 *Reflections upon the Reigns*

as the Testimony of it ; then appears what *Machiavel* describes in those Times among the *Romans*, when Absolute Power was exercis'd. Riches and Honour, especially Vertue, grew to be Capital Offences ; Informers and Calumniators rewarded ; Servants instigated against their Masters, Children against their Parents ; guilty Men the Accusers ; and those few that were so unhappy to have no Enemies, destroy'd by their Friends : And all dissembled Cruelties and Oppressions break forth into publick and barefac'd Practise. That which before was declared to be the prejudice of the Government, must then be call'd the support of it. Ill Designs grew by degrees, but when their cherish'd Roots have took a deep and firm hold, they are then declar'd by the mischievous Fruit they put forth. Modesty seldom stays with full-grown Power, and the former Reputation of Men is useless to them : In such a Change they must purchase new Characters from new Violences, to merit Trust or Safety.

King

King *Richard*, having now, (as far as he cou'd) resign'd his Sovereign Power, began to find how much he was mistaken with the Hopes of enjoying that retir'd Peace, which he seem'd willing to exchange his Crown for. Fortune commonly makes haist in the Prosperity or Adversity of Princes: And there is a reasonable Cause, why neither shou'd be slow, for the Minds of Men hurry them to assist the successful, and help to destroy the unfortunate: Led more by Fear and Interest, than Resolution and Vertue.

This Truth appear'd in the Condition of this unhappy King: Whose Little that was left him was first shar'd by his Enemies, and he then convey'd from the *Tower of London*, to *Leeds-Castle in Kent*, and from thence to *Pomfret-Castle in York-shire*. Where, for some little time, there seem'd to be paid him some Respect in the Manner of his Attendance; but that was but the counterfeit treating of the shadow of a King. Which probably yet made

him uneasie, who enjoy'd the substantial Power : For it is reported by some, that King *Henry* shou'd one Day, with a deep sigh, lament, That neither He, nor the Nation, had a Friend that wou'd pull up that Root, from whence Disquiets and Rebellion cou'd onely spring.

'Tis probable that the Bishop of *Carlisle's* Oration (arguing at that time against the Right of King *Richard's* being Depos'd, and the Right of *Henry* to succeed to the Crown) and some Plots and Risings that afterwards happen'd, might perhaps hasten the taking away this unfortunate Prince from all his Miseries. But whether the King gave particular Orders and Encouragement, by such words, is uncertain. But there never wanted Men barbarous enough, to offer cruel Sacrifices to Power ; and for the hopes of Favour and Reward, rather guess what Mischief wou'd be acceptable, than stay to be instructed, that their Merit might seem enlarg'd by their Readiness in Villany.

There

There are Accounts given of King *Richard's* Death ; some write, That upon News of the Defeat of those that rose against the new King, *Henry* the Fourth, he grew so disconsolate, that he pin'd away and starv'd himself ; others, that for fifteen Days and Nights he was kept from all Sustenance, and with the assistance of Cold, (for it was in *February*) starv'd to death. Others write, that he had Feasts set before him, but denied to touch any thing ; as if design'd to imitate the Fable of *Tantalus*, and aggravate the Cruelty of Starving. After his Death his Body was brought to the *Tower of London*, where he stood three days for all Beholders, and had Service where his Soul was pray'd for, at which King *Henry* was present.

It appears to me improbable, that King *Henry* shou'd give such unheard of cruel Directions , as by lingring Torments to take away the Life of a Prince, when there was a Declaration of the Parliament, That the Life of King *Richard* shou'd not be touch'd,
which

which also King *Henry* agreed to ; and presently to give such public and notorious Directions to have his Life taken away by such unheard-of Cruelties, as for fifteen days to waste in the Torments of Hunger and Cold, and afterwards to expose him bare-fac'd ; which must have betray'd the Death he dy'd ; and then to assist in Prayers for his Soul, seems to me very improbable, and full of Contradictions.

I am rather inclin'd to their Opinions who follow an Author, who seem'd to have good Intelligence of this particular business, and who in other things I find much quoted by Historians ; who says, That some Words which fell from King *Henry*, gave a hint to Sir *Pierce Exton*, to undertake the Death of King *Richard* ; who, with Eight other Villains hasten'd to *Pomfret* , as if he fear'd he shou'd be depriv'd of the Honour of the Action. When he arriv'd, the Preface to the intended Cruelty, was, the forbearance of that Ceremony of Tasting, that was usually paid *Richard* as he sat at Dinner. Who demanding

manding the reason of it, he that us'd to perform it, answer'd, That Sir *Pierce Exton* had brought such Order from *Henry* : At which the King seem'd so much transported, that he struck at him, and, cursing the King, call'd him onely *Harry of Lancaster*. At which time Sir *Pierce*, with his bloody Followers, entred, and shut the Door after him. Which being perceiv'd by the King, he easily guess'd their Fatal Intentions, and (seeming less surpriz'd, in this great and threatning Danger, than in all the former, tho' lesser Hazards) he readily and boldly snatch'd a Halbert, and with a Resolution differing from his former Actions, slew Four of the Assassins. And with continu'd Bravery fought with the rest; till the chief Villain *Exton* got upon a Chair behind him, and with a Pole-Axe struck him down: Where the unfortunate King ended all his Calamities, and left the Murderer to endure future Torments. For when he return'd again, expecting great Preferments and Rewards, he found himself deceiv'd not onely in the hopes of an addition of Favour, but in the loss of what

what he had : Not considering, that tho' a Man might be ill enough to wish a Mischiefe, he hardly cou'd be so confidently bad, as publickly to reward the Doer of it. That counterfeit Piece of Vertue was probably shew'd by the King, to seem (at least) to hate what yet he wish'd, by discountenancing the Actor of the ill. Who now began by discontent to make way for a punishing Conscience, which continu'd him in Torments during his short and miserable Life, and left an Infamy to out-live him.

It is observable, that in the Two greatest Exigencies of this Prince's Life, he appear'd differing from himself; one in the Resignation of his Crown, the other in the loss of his Life : The first he did with a steady Calmness, almost above the Temper of a Man, the last with a Courage equal to the bravest. In smaller Concerns he seem'd unsteady and amaz'd, in these great ones firm and unconcern'd. But in these Extremities he was not clogg'd with those Favourites and Ministers, that influenc'd him with
their

their Weakness, and shook his Mind with their Indirectness, making not onely their Cause to be his, but his Nature theirs.

This seem'd justified by his behaviour in these last and greatest Extremities : When, acting wholly for himself, he entitled himself, at last, to his Grand-father's, and Father's (the *Black Prince's*) Courage and Vertue, and shew'd himself dying, what they never gave him leave to appear when living.

THE

T H E
COMPARISON.

HAVING now finish'd, with some Reflections, the chief Accidents in the Reigns of *Edward* and *Richard the Second*; and believing it too tedious to take the same Methods with *Edward the First*, and *Edward the Third*, I thought it not improper to extract their Characters, that by the Comparison of them all, the reasonable Causes may farther appear, of the unhappy Condition of the two first, and the prosperous Fortunes of the two others. Which will shew the mighty and fatal Difference in a Prince's using himself, and being wholly us'd by others; between the Steadiness of a strong Mind, and the Indirectness of a weak one. *Edward the First*, and *Edward the Third*, resembled one another; *Edward* and *Richard the Second*, were also

of Edward and Richard II. 175

also alike : So that their Comparisons may be made as if between two Persons, which will shew the Causes of the mighty Differences that succeeded with them.

Edward I. and Edward III.

Came both to the Crown, after it had been shaken by the Errors of both their Fathers, *Henry the Third*, and *Edward the Second*.

Edward and Richard II.

Came both to the Crown, after it had been settled by the Vertues and Valour of the Father and Grandfather, *Edward the First*, and *Edward the Third*.

Edward I. and Edward III.

Were both Men earlier than others ; and Victorious before others us'd to attempt Victory : So that before they were Kings, they shew'd how fit they were to be so.

Edward

Edward and Richard II.

Never appear'd Men, till they were to be so no more: They never attempted true Glory, and before they were Kings, gave little Testimony of their fitness to be so.

Edward I. and Edward III.

Were able to judge, yet never unwilling to hear the Judgment of others; they were deliberate in their Resolving, but firm in their Resolutions; unshaken in Dangers, steady and equal in Safety; their Promises were Mankind's Security; and Truth their Wisdom. Their great Vertues and Courage made the Nation expect Success from all their Actions.

Edward and Richard II.

Never appear'd able to judge, but wholly submitted to the interess'd Opinion of others; they were inconstant in all Conditions, in Prosperity bold and violent, in Danger fearful
and

and temperate ; their Promises were no Security , and Dissimulation was their Policy : So that from such Methods of Government the Nation cou'd expect no Success or Happiness.

Edward I. and Edward III.

Grew fierce by Opposition, and gentle by Submission ; they seldom deny'd Pardon to those that implor'd it, nor suffer'd an abus'd Mercy unrevenge'd ; they were mighty enough to conquer Enemies, and powerful enough to forgive those they conquer'd : They were equally Victorious both of themselves and others, and those that submitted, prov'd always more Fortunate, than those that resisted.

Edward and Richard II.

Were submissive when oppos'd, and fierce when submitted to ; they always abus'd the Tenderness of others, and seldom shew'd any of their own : Never forgiving, where they had Opportunity to punish. They neither had Power, nor Design, to conquer
N Enemies,

178 *Reflections upon the Reigns*

Enemies, but us'd both to overcome their Friends : Others were Masters of them, and not they of themselves ; and those that resisted prov'd more Fortunate than those that submitted.

Edward I. and Edward III.

In the greatest Hazards requir'd none to attempt more than they did in their own Persons, and in the greatest Prosperity and Safety; they prescrib'd no more Vertue and Temperance than they gave Examples for.

Edward and Richard II.

In Danger depended on others to attempt for them, and in Prosperity they gave no Rules of Vertue, but suffer'd the Vices of others to be their Examples.

Edward I. and Edward III.

Knew how to gain Power, and how to use it ; they made the best Laws, that might have attempted the easiest to break them.

Edward

Edward and Richard II.

Knew little how to get Power, and less
how to use it, Chance sometimes
brought, and their giddy Favourites
lost. They never seem'd inclin'd to
make good Laws, and were always
contriving to Violate those that were
made.

Edward I. and Edward III.

Knew how to gain, and how to pre-
serve, by the Love and Confidence
they rais'd in their Subjects Hearts :
The first they requited, and never a-
bus'd the last.

△ *Edward and Richard II.*

Shew'd little skill how to gain, and as
little how to preserve, they were ad-
vis'd to the mistaken Policy of neg-
lecting Love, and to the Folly of a-
busing Trust.

Edward I. and Edward III.

Had great Taxes and Supplies, which in themselves might appear very large, but wou'd not seem so vast, when compar'd with their Victories. The Conquest of *Wales*, *Scotland*, and *France*, will not seem such light Victories to be obtain'd with small Assistance. But what the Nation gave was justly bestow'd for what it was given, and faithfully laid out for their Honour and Interest.

Edward and Richard II.

Had great Supplies, but made no Purchases with them of Honour or Interest: What the others bestow'd for the Public Good, they gave away to their private Favourites, and wanted more to supply their Avarice and Ambitions, than the others did to enlarge the Nation's Glory. The private Conquests the Favourites made over these Princes, were more chargable than the Victories the others obtain'd over Nations.

Edward

of Edward and Richard II. 181

Edward I. and Edward III.

Not only return'd Security and Benefit for their Subjects Gifts, by Conquest abroad, but by excellent Laws at home: What *Edward* the First began well, *Edward* the Third gave Perfection to. Nor were these brave Princes more just in making good Laws, than severe in the due Execution of them: And neither ever shew'd so much Severity as against those that abus'd the Trust of Justice; as if they were more offended at the Enemies of Mankind, than at their own.

Edward and Richard II.

Return'd nothing to their Subjects for what they gave; neither by the Bravery of Arms, to crush the Greatness of their Enemies, nor by Vertue of good Laws, to increase the Prosperity of the People: They seem'd not fitted in themselves to attempt the first, and too much influenc'd by Favourites to incline to the last.. They fear'd the Greatness of their Subjects more than
their

their Enemies, and shew'd they wou'd rather have conquer'd at home than abroad, as if they wou'd choose to make their own People Slaves rather than others. They apprehended the effect of good Laws, and were most pleas'd with those that debauch'd the Trust of Justice; and the Judges esteem'd most Loyal that were most readily wicked: Those were the greatest Favourites that the People most hated; and the greatest Enemies to Men, were reputed the best Friends to them.

Edward I. and Edward III.

Mingled their Interest with their Subjects, and never refus'd to hear the Wrongs of those that assisted them, to Revenge their Injures on others. They were equally Valiant, and equally Successful, and both dy'd uncheckt by Fortune: Onely *Edward* the First died himself, and *Edward* the Third out-liv'd himself; but the Death of his Glorious Son, the **BLACK PRINCE**, join'd with the Weight of Old Age, might justly make that Sun-set clouded. *Ed-*

Edward and Richard II.

Divided their Interest from their Subjects, whose Complaint of Grievances rather procur'd Punishment than Redress: They thought their People's Good was inconsistent with their Power, and that to be sensible of Oppression, was Rebellious. They were alike in their Tempers, and equally unsuccessful: And in the midst of the greatest Smiles of Fortune, both alike forsaken by Her. But *Richard* the Second, in the last wretched Scene of his Life, had the opportunity of shewing some Testimonies that he sprung from the *Black Prince*; and had not liv'd more unhappily, than he dy'd bravely: The first he ow'd to his Favourites, the last to Himself.

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